HOW WE CAN WIN IN VIETNAM

50 CENTS
CDC

MARCH 9, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

ALLIANCE FOR ~~PROGRESS~~ WHAT?

ROBERTO ROTH

ERIC VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

ROBERT PETER

Also In This Issue:

BUCKLEY DEFINES THE ISSUE AT SELMA WHILE COLM BROGAN TELLS ABOUT ENGLAND'S BUDDING RACE PROBLEM ♦ RUSHER PLOTS THE FUTURE OF THE GOP ♦ ALSO MEYER, STURGEON, FRANCIS RUSSELL

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ we make the grand tour of what the television news gentlemen are fond of calling the world's trouble spots. First close-up: Southeast Asia, where, says **Anthony Harrigan,** we *can* win, if we make up our minds to take the business of war as seriously as do the Viet Cong and the Communist masters of North Vietnam. Mr. Harrigan, in peacetime an associate editor of the *Charleston News and Courier,* is a military analyst who actually goes out to where the fighting is, and has just returned from an observer's tour of duty with a Marine helicopter squadron (see NATIONAL REVIEW, January 26) added to long conversations with our military commanders. . . . **David Nelson Rowe,** professor of political science at Yale, finds stability and promise of sorts in South Korea, whence he returned last month.

➔ Next: Latin America, its political wars and frangible peace. **Roberto Roth** was present at the Punta del Este conference at which the *Alianza para progreso,* which he here atomizes, was launched. A native Argentinian, he has been an economics adviser to the government and a consultant to the National Mortgage Bank of Argentina. . . . In the storm over Vietnam we've no business overlooking Cuba, which is still only ninety miles away, as **James Burnham** reminds us. . . . But for those of you who *were* looking the other way in 1964 we recapitulate the South American year, country by country, calling on the services of "**Robert Peter,**" a well-known economist whose specialty is Latin American affairs. . . . And the encyclopedic **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn,** on tour, tracks the trouble to a continent-wide delusion that the kind of government enjoyed by Iceland and Switzerland can also work for Peru and Nicaragua and Haiti.

➔ Race and suffrage, from South Africa to Selma, are what egalitarians consider closed questions. They are opened here by **Russell Kirk** (South Africa) and **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** (Selma), while **Colm Brogan,** who has kept an eye on the British "color bar" for NATIONAL REVIEW ever since Notting Hill, briefs us on Smethwick, Leyton and all that. . . . In the battle that conservatism has been waging for the soul of America, **Frank Meyer** this week cautions the troops not to sacrifice substantive excellence to empty victories at the polls.

➔ "Books" begins with some passes at postmortem-psychosis over the not-so-dead body of the GOP. Our Publisher unfurls his cloak of many daggers. . . . Our man about sf, **Theodore Sturgeon,** reviews a work of speculative science, a novel, and an index to anthologies of sf, which should serve to plug you right into the mysteries. . . . **William F. Rickenbacker** has uncovered a rare one: a book by a *Fortune* editor on the U.S. economy you can actually read, and should, and give to your friends. . . . **Francis Russell,** author of the nostalgic *The Great Interlude,* remembers Ballets Russes and Old Boston; while **Ernestine Stodelle** reports on some modern dance repertory to be seen in New York. ➔

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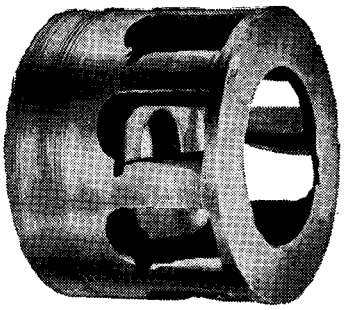

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TO THE EDITOR

Liberal Catholics

As an orthodox religionist and a non-Catholic, I shout my praise for your presentation of Professor O'Connell's unique attack on the new heresy, Liberal Catholicism ["Gnostics on a Train," Feb. 23].

Surely, Christians and Jews alike abhor the foolish concept of religion which certain newspapers and magazines currently promulgate—sort of a conglomeration of truths, half-truths and errors, covered with blotches of misconceptions about love for one's neighbor and personal conscience.

Although the extant human condition no longer requires the syllogistic experience, or so we are told, thanks for considering those of us who still think.

Hicksville, N.Y. GEORGE D. SACHS

Please — let us have more of such writing as O'Connell's. NATIONAL REVIEW is one of the two or three good periodicals in this country that have a manifest duty to encourage what *Commonweal, Ramparts, et al.* must suppress, caught up as they are in their — *pre*-Tridentine? — ecstasy.

Staten Island, N.Y.

GEORGE F. DEPRETIS

Counsel for the Defense

As counsel to Mr. Rickenbacker in the criminal prosecution which he suffered because of his refusal to answer the Housing Questionnaire of the Census of 1960, may I comment on the editorial in your issue of February 23, "The Law-Abiding Need not Apply"?

The Constitution does not provide a "Right of Privacy" as such. In refusing to answer questions put to him by the Senate Rules Committee, Mr. Bobby Baker pleaded the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, affording a privilege against self-incrimination. Mr. Rickenbacker, on the other hand, pleaded the Fourth Amendment, forbidding unreasonable searches, when he refused to answer the Housing Questionnaire. He did not suggest that revelation of the number of his bathtubs would tend to incriminate him.

The editorial has a valid point that

(Continued on p. 209)

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. . . And in Korea, when the Liberals first made cowardice a national policy. Washington's incredible refusal to let MacArthur fight back and protect the lives of our soldiers at the Yalu River. He was forbidden to strike key enemy industrial plants. Forbidden to follow in "hot pursuit" of Red planes attacking ours! One of those American airmen, wounded and near death, the stump of an arm dangling by his side, gasped through the bubbles of blood as he spat out, "General, which side are Washington and United Nations on?"

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The WEEK

● *Bestsellers* Magazine has given its first Outstanding Achievement In Original Paperback Publishing Award to Bantam Books and Popular Library, jointly and severally, for their outstanding achievement in publishing the Warren Commission Report on the assassination of President Kennedy. The award consists of the Warren Report and a gold medal, laid to rest jointly in a block of lucite crystal, which will not be opened in our lifetime.

● The National Council for Civic Responsibility has folded for lack of funds, although local C's of C.R. may linger on under the aegis of the Public Affairs Institute, a tax-exempt foundation. The *New York Times,* which did not report the NCCR's passing until exactly eleven days after the fact, had found its formation at the height of the Presidential campaign splashy front-page same-day news. But then, the NCCR was tax-exempt-non-politically-dedicated to stamping out Right Wing Extremism, which *does* have premium news value in a campaign in which one of the candidates—the one opposed by the *Times,* by the way—is a Right Wing Extremist. Even eleven days late it is real news that an explicitly anti-conservative group folded for lack of funds. And good riddance.

● There's a brisk market for holes, the Air Force is discovering as it divests itself of 129 missile sites ($2 billion worth) that used to house the Atlas, Thor and Titan I missiles, all now McNamaraized as obsolete. Suggested uses for the huge missile silos—170 feet deep, 60 feet across—have included oil storage, parks, tourist attractions, garbage disposal and mushroom farming. The civilian world has also shown itself enterprising about uses for the surplus equipment and land up for sale. It is astonishing, and encouraging, how much creative energy is generated in the private sector even by so odd a resource as a hole.

● "What couldn't possibly have happened in the few months available to us was a reversal of three decades of ingrained expectations—of public policies, some good, some bad, all of them subject to improvement, that seem to have become public habits." So concluded the outgoing chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Dean Burch, last week in a frank and cogent discussion of the causes of his party's overwhelming defeat in November. However, America's basic conservatism and need of smooth two-party functioning offered hope for Republicanism, he said; and "a beginning *was* made—in my view an absolutely necessary beginning—so that, next time out, we can build on the strengths represented by all those conservatively oriented views that great numbers of Americans seem to hold."

● Well, and wasn't that a dainty dish Mr. Norman Kilpatrick set before the Citizens Councils of America! Pretending to be a member in good standing of the Prince George County, Maryland, chapter. Working his way up through the ranks to president. And then handing the whole segregationist caboodle over to CORE. What guile, what nerve, what tenacity! Score one for the Committee for Racial Justice Now, of the United Church of Christ, and for its dedicated worker, Mr. Kilpatrick, a Class A joker, a prince of a good, white-skinned guy and, as it happens, an employee of the United States Civil Service Commission. Puts us in mind of the hot time they had—in Florida, wasn't it—a while back, only with the PTA instead of the Citizens Councils. Seems some members, perfectly upstanding PTA types, started boring from within like Mr. Kilpatrick and, first thing you know, they took the thing over. That *was* a laugh when it came out they belonged to the John Bir—where'd everybody go?

● Mr. Johnson told a group of students visiting the White House that he thought it would be a good thing for young Americans to develop the same fanaticism about democracy that young Nazis did about German totalitarianism. Of course, the President really meant it in the right—excuse us—moderate way.

● Right-to-work laws may be a tremendous incentive to economic growth. The National Right to Work Committee has compiled growth rate statistics comparing the nineteen right-to-work states with states which allow compulsory unionism, and the former lead in every category. The figures, by category (the first figure given in each case is the *per cent of increase* in right-to-work states, the second in non-right-to-work states): New Manufacturing Jobs—23.2, 9.9; Hourly Earnings by Manufacturing Workers (1953-1963)—46.7, 42.4; Per Capita Personal Income (1953-1963)—43.0, 34.7; Value Added by Manufacturing (1954-1960)—60.1, 35.6; Capital Expenditures (1954-1960)—38.3, 11.6; Bank Deposits (1953-1963)—57.5, 52.4; Motor Vehicle Registration (1953-1962)—46.1, 37.1; Annual Retail Payroll (1954-1958)—24.1, 17.3; Retail Sales (1954-1958)—20.8, 16.5; No. of Retail Establishments (1954-1958)—7.4, 2.7.

● French students, vanguard of the international student class, are now lobbying for a student wage, 450 francs (or about $90) monthly, to be paid by a government anxious to encourage national excellence. France has long supported student syndicalism, com-

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The ACU: A Statement of Principle

The American Conservative Union, founded at a conference held late in December (see NATIONAL REVIEW, *Jan. 12, 1965), has now completed its preliminary organization, and is about to begin public operations.*

The following statement of principles, serving as the philosophical base of the ACU, was drafted and adopted by its Board of Directors:

The American Conservative Union holds firm the truth that all men are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights. To a world floundering in philosophical anarchy, we therefore commend a transcendent moral order against which all human institutions, in every commonwealth, may confidently be judged.

We believe that government is meant to serve men: by securing their rights under a rule of law that dispenses justice equally to all; and in times of danger by marshalling the might of the commonwealth against its enemies.

We remark the inherent tendency of government to tyranny. The prudent commonwealth will therefore labor tirelessly, by means agreeable to its peculiar genius and traditions, to limit and disperse the power of government. No task should be confided to a higher authority that can be performed at a subsidiary level; and whatever the people can do for themselves should not be confided to government at all.

We believe that the Constitution of the United States is the ideal charter for governing the American commonwealth. The checks and balances that distribute the power of our national authority, and the principle of federalism that reserves to the states or to the people all power not confided to the national authority, are the cornerstones of every freedom enjoyed in this commonwealth. To their integrity we pledge a jealous defense.

We have learned that man's liberty, no less than his material interests, is promoted by an economic system based on private property and directed by a free, competitive market. Such a system not only enlarges the scope of individual choice but by dispersing economic decisions provides a further bulwark against the concentration of political power. And no other system can assure comparable living standards and growth. As against the encroachments of the welfare state, we propose a state of welfare achieved by free, collaborative endeavor.

Today the American commonwealth, as well as the civilization that illuminated it, is mortally threatened by the global Communist revolution. We hold that permanent coexistence with Communism is neither honorable nor desirable nor possible. Communism would enslave the world by any means expedient to that end. We deem no sacrifice too great to avoid that fate. We would parry the enemy's thrusts—but more: by maintaining American military superiority and exerting relentless pressure against the Communist empire, we would advance the frontiers of freedom.

plete with collective bargaining, but has never paid salaries. We can see it now: pay hikes for advanced calculus, Sanskrit and the works of Jean-Paul Sartre. Fringe benefits in the stacks. And time and a half for overtime in the Larousse. Berkeley, *en garde*!

● Senator Bob Bartlett of Alaska wrote last week to urge Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Interior Secretary Stuart Udall to call a technical meeting of representatives of the United States, Norway, Canada, Denmark and the USSR with a view toward drawing up an international treaty, if the findings of the meeting so indicate. What was preoccupying the good senator was the "really crucial question as to whether there is but one population of polar bears moving from nation to nation on the slowly revolving ice pack, or whether there are two or more populations. At the present time," he told the cabinet members, "no one—no scientist, no sportsman, no Eskimo —knows for sure whether the numbers of polar bear are increasing, decreasing or constant." Imagine.

● Mr. Norman G. Peil, of Fairfax, Va., meditating on a number of recent TV presentations, wrote to the editor of his local paper: "SIR: I agree with Cynthia Lowry's Jan. 11 column 'Video Preoccupied with World War II Events.' Could it be that we must continually re-fight WW II on the boobtube to make certain that: a) we never forget how inhuman the Germans were, to the exclusion of how inhuman the Communists are; and b) our preoccupation with WW II, which we won, keeps us from considering WW III, which we are losing? Try to visualize the outcome of WW II if we had taken the same action with the Axis powers that we have and are taking with Communism. We could have had cultural exchanges with German folk singers and Italian opera stars (actually secret agents); we could have sold Hitler wheat on long-term credit; we could have given Tojo some of our aircraft and trained his fighter pilots in hope of splitting the 'Axis'; we could even have brought Hitler to our own shores so he could 'better understand us.' "

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The Debate Takes Form

Every few years the press features a "great debate" concerning a problem of national concern—China, civil rights, NATO, foreign aid or whatever it is that season. Generally the problem is more obscure after than before the great debate unfolds. By chance or design the debaters incline to those resounding phrases that rouse the desired emotions and grab the bigger headlines; and under that rhetorical blanket fact and reason are effectively smothered. The great debate—as in the past, for specific instance, over civil rights or foreign aid—becomes a form of psychological warfare serving to put over a prearranged policy on the public.

The current public discussion about Vietnam has expanded to a scale that qualifies it, with more than routine justification, as truly a "great debate." And this time the debate does seem to be performing a rational function. This time there are a clearcut Affirmative and Negative—Get In *vs.* Pull Out—and the debaters are talking more and more directly to the issue.

There is not much to be surprised at in the mass deployment of the Pull Outers. The serried ranks of the coexisters, appeasers, defeatists, pacifists, beatniks, socio-masochists, leftists, fellow travelers, Communists and miscellaneous Hate America Firsters make their Pavlovian response. Senators Church, McGovern and Fulbright rise on the Senate floor to sound their call for capitulation. The perennial professors publish their wailing ads in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. SANE laments the folly of it all. Women Strike for Peace, Students for This and That, folksingers and Trotskyites picket with Pull Out chants and placards. The *Worker* yelps from the garbage pit. Walter Lippmann translates "retreat" and "surrender" into pontifical prose. It is all as familiar as baseball in springtime.

But what is unexpected is the size and vigor, this time, of the Affirmative contingent. There are Get In pickets as well as Pull Outs. Richard Nixon's firmness would have won him the Presidency if he had shown half of it in those TV Debaculars. Senator Gale McGee counterbalanced the Church-McGovern-Fulbright trio by his Get In speech. In a two-and-a-half-hour address on Feb. 23, Senator Dodd lifted the Senate to a level it has seldom reached lately. "The situation in Vietnam today," Senator Dodd reminded his colleagues and the country, "bears many resemblances to the situation just before Munich. Chamberlain wanted peace. Churchill wanted peace. Chamberlain held that a confrontation with Hitler might result in war, and that the interests of peace demanded some concessions to Hitler. . . . Churchill held that the appeasement of a compulsive aggressor simply whetted his appetite for further expansion and made war more likely. Chamberlain's policy won out. . . . But who was right? Who was the true man of peace?"

Mr. Dodd exposed "the new isolationism" stemming from a "weariness with cold war burdens," and warned that American withdrawal from Vietnam would be followed by "a bloodletting on a genocidal scale. . . . And the massacre of innocents in Vietnam will be repeated in every Southeast Asian country that falls to Communism in its wake. . . . The loss of Vietnam will result in a dozen more Vietnams in different parts of the world."

In the *Times Magazine* two days before Senator Dodd's address, a remarkable, carefully reasoned article by the country's best-known military commentator, Hanson W. Baldwin, had demonstrated why "we must fight a war to prevent an irreparable defeat." Mr. Baldwin cuts ruthlessly through the arguments of the appeasers—"voices of defeat and despair, caution and fear"—and shows that in the present situation the call to "negotiate" is only a mask for the wish to "bug out." One by one he analyzes and refutes the arguments of the Bug Outers; and then proceeds to the statement of a clear and realistic Affirmative policy, based, "first and foremost," on the recognition that "as a government and as a people we are fighting a war in Vietnam, not merely 'advising' how to fight one." He concludes relentlessly: "Vietnam is a nasty place to fight. But there are no neat and tidy battlefields in the struggle for freedom; there is no 'good' place to die. And it is far better to fight in Vietnam—on China's doorstep—than fight some years hence in Hawaii, on our own frontier."

NATIONAL REVIEW, which has long sought through its columns to communicate the critical nature of the war in Vietnam, rejoices at the expansion of the discussion on the Vietnam issue into a great and public debate. We propose to continue our active participation in the debate, and do so in this issue.

Why They Riot

In a sense that underlines the dictum that justice must not only be done but must be *seen* to be done, the current wave of riots provoked by Negro organizers north and south may be said to be the creation of the northern press. An age of instant communication lends awesome power to the printed and spoken word; what is being done is no longer as important as what is being said about it. Rev. Martin Luther King may be in his person a nonviolent man. What he has proved by his public acts, however, and proved time and again, is that he is the source of violence in others. It is not

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Focus on WASHINGTON

Where's Soapy? Headed for Outsville, say certain State Department sources. They report pressures from on high for the exile of the peripatetic Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. Despite G. Mennen Williams' popularity with African leaders and diplomats—he has gone down the line for increased aid to Africa on easier terms—there are reasons why he could be more useful to the Administration home in Michigan, than tripping the light fantastic in Upper Volta. Reason #1 is George Romney. Romney comes up for re-election in 1966. If he makes it he'll be a leading contender for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1968—and possibly a dangerous one. President Johnson, with that in mind, is said to feel that Williams —a five time governor of Michigan and pal of the powerful United Auto Workers union—would make a better run against Romney than any other candidate, including Senator Pat McNamara, whose name has been mentioned as a possible opponent to ramblin' George.

◆ Hottest rumor in town: the reason Administration spokesmen are so successfully sidestepping probing questions about just what our policy is in South Vietnam is that the President wants to keep the world and the nation off balance. Why? Because, it is whispered, negotiations are even now underway for a settlement of the war on a regional, rather than a strictly national basis. Along with Laos, Cambodia and both Vietnams, Thailand, it is said, would be included in any such deal and the staunchly pro-Western Thai government induced to give at least token representation to the "Liberation Front" that has been agitating in the northern sections of the country in recent months. All efforts to track down this story to its source have been fruitless thus far. Even though they don't like it, veteran newsmen express reluctant admiration at LBJ's ability to keep the lid on a story when he so orders: there just aren't the kind of leaks that occurred in Kennedy's day.

◆ It's quite clear that Republican Liberals now consider Colorado's silver-haired Senator Peter Dominick as the latest Danger on the Right. Dominick was slated to get the chairmanship of the Senate Republican Campaign Committee when Thruston Morton stepped down, as Morton had told everyone in sight he intended to do. But then something, in the person of Everett McKinley Dirksen, intervened. Morton was persuaded to hang on to the job for yet a little while by a Dirksen suddenly receptive to advice from those Liberal senators who hew the Thomas Kuchel (Cal.) line.

◆ When the Young Republican Leadership Training School met in Washington last week a couple of things were plain to see. Goldwater was still their hero and the Goldwater men were in firm control. There was no repudiation of conservatism, no recriminations. It was no coincidence, incidentally that Dominick—an outspoken Goldwater man—was chosen as lead-off speaker and that his reception was so effusive. After the preliminaries had been taken care of, the YRs got right down to work on the development of new pr and selling techniques for the battles ahead.

◆ The real sleeper in the coming months in Congress will be the immigration bill. This issue runs athwart many of the usual voting alliances and blocs, and Republicans, who see in it a chance to rough up the Administration, are wondering whether Minority Leader, Representative Gerald Ford—for whom they ditched Charley Halleck—is the man to lead the fight. Most Republicans would like to see Ford take a hard line, and not just angle for a few concessions in committee. They feel he is playing footsie with Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.), Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

◆ Official Washington, which has been startled by outspoken Dean Francis Sayre of Washington Cathedral before, was startled again last week when Sayre came out strongly against the easy course in Vietnam. "Who are we to say that for our ease we ought at once to break off resistance and negotiate a settlement that can only prove to be a moratorium until a bitterer day? There are, of course, and there always have been narrow men who cannot read that broad canvas now spread before us. Preoccupied with the immediate locale of conflict they would end the evil—as if the freedom of the human race was not interconnected, as if we could give up all of Asia to the serfdom of darkness and still rejoice in the light of freedom on this side of the world." —**CATO**

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the custom of a peaceable man to issue threats like King's of February 18: "It is time for us to say to those [white business] men, 'If you don't do something about it we will engage in broader forms of civil disobedience.' We might have to march out of this church tonight and stand at the court house all night long." If this is the kind of thing a man goes about saying, then peace is not what he is after. If he is after justice, then, and fair play, does it make sense to conscript children in a drive intended, let's not forget, to capture the vote? Most of those forming the vanguard of the King crusade are not eligible to register and vote even if the polls were thrown open to them. What could justify the use, the exploitation, of minors if not that extra edge of intimidation against which even Sheriff Jim Clark is helpless, desperate, a fool?

The press has not dealt harshly with these incongruities in Mr. King's campaign. On the contrary, it has reserved for him the most effulgent praise, epithets of honor and acclaim. It has published without editorial qualification his blatant ap-

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peals for "militancy" (*i.e.*, psychological terrorism in a good cause) and given lavish space to the most unctuously hypocritical of his pronouncements, as this one, on the death of Malcolm X: "It revealed that our society [note the guilty party: not the Black Muslims, but you and I, all of us: Dallas]is still sick enough [note, again, the cocktail-clinician diction] to express dissent through murder." There's a fine formulation for you. The murder of Malcolm X, a gangland operation like that of Albert Anastasia, was an expression of dissent. "We have not learned," continues the Reverend Dr. King, "to disagree without being violently disagreeable. This vicious assassination should cause our whole society to see that violence and hatred are evil forces that must be cast into unending limbo." It seems, at times, that the dreamworld of the Establishment cannot turn without one axial man of color—Nehru, U Thant, now King—who can be counted on for oracular wheezings of this sort, delivered on cue.

What King's ascendance has done to such an appendage of the "white power structure" as, for example, the *New York Times,* is to set up in its editorial offices a schizoid cleavage of opinion, divided neatly right down the Mason-Dixon line. King is a hero, but Galamison must be stopped. Selma must be liberated, but the city authorities of New York are urged to "put a stop to the rioting, disorderly conduct, truancy and juvenile delinquency which has been condoned too long merely because it hides under the camouflage of social protest." The *Times* sees you, Dr. Galamison. But even the *Times* has trouble seeing straight. "The community's civil rights leaders," it intones, "cannot stand silently by and see their good efforts discredited by rioting young hoodlums." What "good efforts" of what "civil rights leaders"?

King, the apostle of non-violence, the Nobel laureate? On February 24, a *Times* man in Selma, Roy Reed, spelling the emotional John Herbers ("Negroes could be heard screaming. . ."), stated King's aims thus: "The Negroes' rationale in holding night marches is to provoke the racist element in white communities to show its worst." Non-violently, of course.

Roy Wilkins, of the "moderate" NAACP? Mr. Wilkins' horror of violence is quite complete, quite Kinglike. Yet what has he to say of the abhorrent Galamison and his school boycotts? Merely that "it's not an effective technique." Mr. Wilkins' moderation consists solely of a pragmatist's practiced caution. He likes, perhaps, a good press, a good *Times* review. If so, he kids himself. For what, finally, will be the counterforce of *Times* opinion against itself? Its dislike of Galamison against its enthronement of King? Galamison has followed King, as why should he not? Will it be Roy Wilkins who will tell him that doing in the North what Dr. King does in the South doesn't accrue toward the Peace Prize? "Elsewhere on De Kalb Avenue an elderly Negro woman looked at a shattered window and shook her head in what appeared to be chagrin." We quote from our favorite newspaper's account of one of Mr. Galamison's spectaculars. " 'What good does this do?' she asked." Good lady, it works.

The Seven (hundred million) Dwarfs

Hi ho, hi ho;
It's off to work we go.
  We're busy building bombs to blast
The status quo. (Hi ho!)
Hi ho, hi ho;
When everything is Go,
  What fun to say "It's bombs away!"
(With a hi, hi ho.)

W. H. Von Dreele

Dale Carnegie, Help!

For some years past, West Germany has been paying large sums to the State of Israel as partial reparation for the millions of Jews killed by the Nazis during World War II. More recently, Bonn signed a secret treaty with Tel Aviv to provide Israel with arms. This deal was ever so gratifying to the United States, which is Israel's strongest ally in the world; it pleased the French, who had also been supplying arms to Israel; it was one gesture about which the leading NATO allies could agree.

West Germany has also, over the years, been a good friend of Nasser's Egypt. German scientists have helped set up Nasser's missile bases and develop his rockets; they have been active in the industrialization of Egypt, and German loans and foreign aid have contributed substantially to the Egyptian economy.

Everything was hotsie-totsie until Nasser got word of the arms deal. Ah ha, he said to himself, what would West Germany least like me to do? And the answer popped ready-made into his head: invite East German premier Ulbricht to tea.

Over the years Bonn has maintained that the East German Government is illegal. It has refused to maintain formal diplomatic relations with any country (except the Soviet Union) that officially recognizes the Pankow government. The invitation to Ulbricht was rightfully regarded by Bonn as an infringement of this so-called Hallstein Doctrine.

To placate Nasser, Bonn announced it would terminate its arms shipments to Israel. And to placate

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Israel, Bonn announced it would substitute, for the arms, aid of other sorts. The United States, which had put Bonn up to sending the arms to Israel in the first place, kept very, very quiet for a while and finally gave West Germany a sort of grudging public support. De Gaulle pretended nothing had happened. Jewish firms in the United States said they wouldn't trade with Germans any more. There was a governmental crisis in Israel and harsh words directed toward Germany. Nasser, who had succeeded in what he had started out to do, found his success so heady that he went ahead with his invitation to Ulbricht anyway.

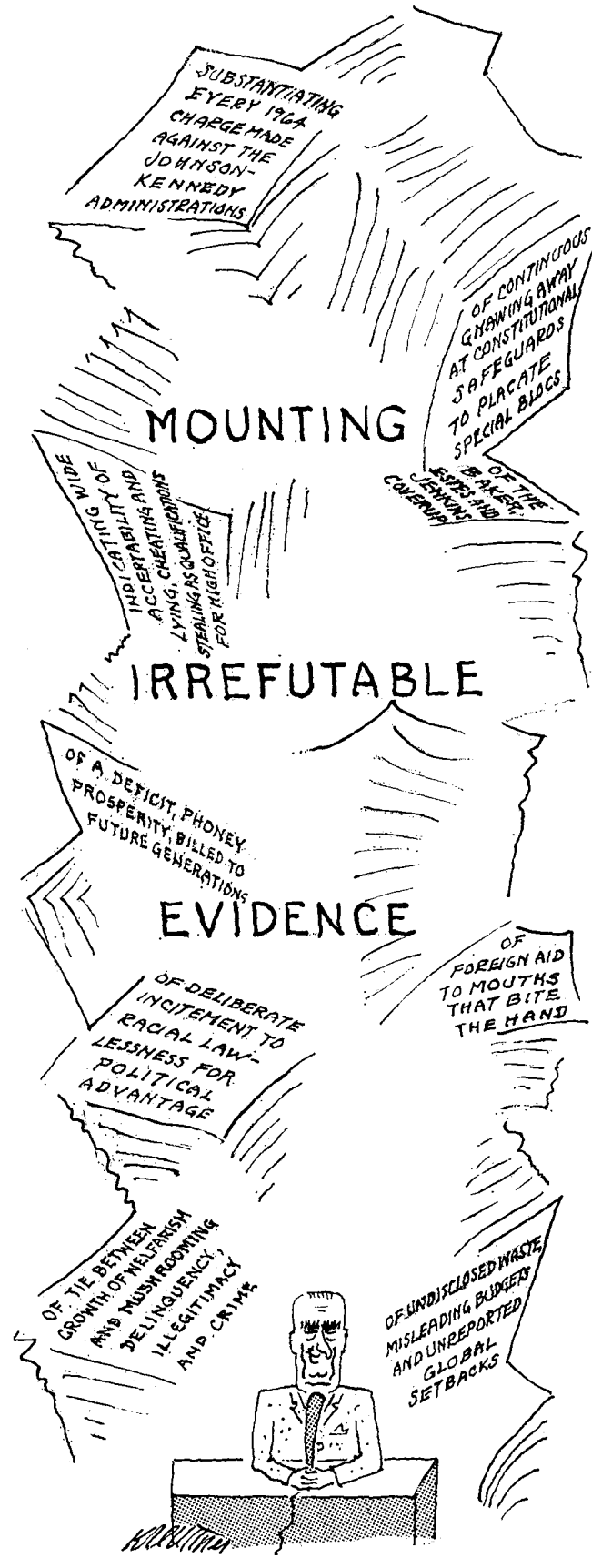
Result: Ulbricht is in Egypt. The Hallstein Doctrine is discredited. Israel is mad at Germany and Germany is mad at the United States and Nasser is mad at everybody. Moral: never pay blackmail.

What About Rev. Powell, Gentlemen?

There is not much point wasting any more indignation on Representative the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell. Everyone knows by now what he is: a base demagogue, a scoundrel, a liar, a duly adjudged slanderer, a fugitive from legal process. He is a very smart operator, of course, and a power in the land. Few junketeers even in our nation's impressive junketing history can match the gay travel adventures, complete with comely secretary, that Rev. Powell has so often charged to the public purse. A lengthy court proceeding failed to unravel the mysteries of his personal accounts. At the moment he is on the lam from judgments of contempt of court, failure to pay up sums due for having defamed a former acquaintance, a fraudulent switch of properties to his wife's name and general disregard of court orders, warrants and subpoenas. He has set an all-time record for cynical abuse of the legal immunities accruing to members of a sitting legislature.

Meanwhile he continues in undisturbed possession of his post as chairman of the exceedingly influential House Labor and Education Committee, dispensing its ample patronage and large emoluments, and through its mechanism planting a heavy hand on legislation of great moment. He continues, too, as boss of Harlem, controlling the flow of millions of dollars in funds voted allegedly for poverty, renewal, schools and this and that.

There is not much point, we say, in more indignation at this Rev. blusterer. Powell is what he is. But we have good reason for vast and mounting indignation at those who, though Powell's conduct falls within spheres relevant to their responsibili-


SUBSTANTIATING EVERY 1964 CHARGE MADE AGAINST THE JOHNSON-KENNEDY ADMINISTRATIONS
OF CONTINUOUS GNAWING AWAY AT CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS TO PLACATE SPECIAL BLOCS
MOUNTING
OF THE BAKER-JENKINS COVERUP
INDICATING WIDE ACCEPTABILITY OF LYING, CHEATING AND STEALING AS QUALIFICATIONS FOR HIGH OFFICE
IRREFUTABLE
OF A DEFICIT PHONEY PROSPERITY, BILLED TO FUTURE GENERATIONS
EVIDENCE
OF FOREIGN AID TO MOUTHS THAT BITE THE HAND
OF DELIBERATE INCITEMENT TO RACIAL LAWLESSNESS FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE
OF THE BETWEEN GROWTH OF WELFARISM AND MUSHROOMING DELINQUENCY, ILLEGITIMACY AND CRIME
OF UNDISCLOSED WASTE, MISLEADING BUDGETS AND UNREPORTED GLOBAL SETBACKS

"The kindergarten will now come to order while Daddy Bird explains to you, in words of one syllable, about our stepped-up war on ugliness, and how smart you were not to let Barry confuse you!"

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ties, accept and condone—by act and failure to act — what Powell is and what he is doing. In primary instance: Powell's party, the Democratic Party, and thus the leader of that party, the President of the United States; and the institution that is most deeply disgraced by Powell's presence within it, the Congress of the United States.

When will the President and the other national leaders of the Democratic Party say publicly what Powell is, condemn unambiguously his infamies? What are we to think of all the moralizing that the President includes in every public speech and statement, if he does not have, when it comes to specific cases, the candor and gumption to say the truth about Adam Clayton Powell?

Though it has been stretched rather far in Powell's case, we do not question the tradition of parliamentary immunity which, in the performance of his functions, protects the elected representative of the people from the ordinary reach of the courts and executive. But there is one institution not bound by that immunity: the legislature itself, which is the designated judge of the qualifications of its own members. What does the Congress think of Powell's qualifications? If it hesitates at the precedent that would be set by excluding him altogether (as it has power to do) or by denying him the Committee chairmanship devolved on him by automatic seniority, then why not at least a set of solemn declarations from the leaders of both parties in the House? Why not a formal vote of censure? Or do his fellow congressmen really believe, as their silence can more and more be taken to imply, that there is no subject worthy of censure in such conduct as Adam Clayton Powell's?

Felix Frankfurter, RIP

Felix Frankfurter, who died on Washington's Birthday, was at once an intensely unique individual and an archetypical avatar of the brilliant, vivacious, learned, talkative, fascinating secular Jew, sprung most often from Central Europe (Vienna in Frankfurter's case) and risen by ambition and talent to eminence among the powerful of the nation he adopts. In personal acquaintance—whether as teacher, colleague, adviser or friend—Felix Frankfurter charmed or dazzled everyone who knew him, often to the point of passionate admiration. In his public role it is more difficult, perhaps impossible, to form an unmixed judgment on his multi-dimensional, kaleidoscopic career and conduct.

Philosophically, Frankfurter was in the pragmatic tradition of his judicial predecessors, Brandeis and Holmes, though his pragmatism was tempered by a greater respect for reason and for the law as the closest embodiment of reason that society provides. He was a radical in social policy, but he astonished and sometimes dismayed his radical admirers after his elevation to the Supreme Court, because, often enough, he refused to treat his reasoned interpretation of the law and Constitution as mere handmaid of his social beliefs. In his late years on the bench he became a principal voice making for some measure of the "judicial restraint" that so many of his fellow Justices had sloughed off.

"If judges want to be preachers," he said in 1955, "they should dedicate themselves to the pulpit; if judges want to be primary shapers of policy, the Legislature is their place. Self-willed judges are the least defensible offenders against government under law." Although he did not always follow his own doctrine in practice, he gave his opinion more than once for laws which he disapproved (the Smith and McCarran Acts, for example) and for lower court decisions the consequences of which he deplored. In his judicial restraint, to the degree he manifested it, he found himself in frequent opposition to the judicial absolutism of Justice Hugo Black.

Felix Frankfurter was not, however, solely a judge, even while serving on the bench. And in his extra-judicial activities, in particular some of them in his pre-judicial years, his influence on our nation's course was both large and, on the whole, nefarious. Called to Washington by Franklin Roosevelt, he became, from behind the throne, a principal source of the elements in the New Deal most destructive of our constitutional and social structure. He peopled the government with his pupils from the Harvard Law School; and among them were many of the Communists and fellow travelers (as they then were, and not a few have continued to be) for whose acts we still pay so heavily—Alger Hiss, Lee Pressman, Allan Rosenberg, Nathan Witt, John Abt, along with others less well known. Frankfurter attacked the trial and conviction of the dynamiter, Tom Mooney, and the anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti. Though everyone now knows that Mooney was guilty and even many Liberals have come to believe that Sacco, at least, was a murderer, Frankfurter's powerful pleading had much to do with the modern mystique of "capitalist injustice" that has been so ably exploited by our enemies. What Frankfurter's exact role was, after World War II, in shifting our Cold War foreign policy toward the swamps of negation and passive coexistence will never be known unless Dean Acheson and the others who sought and took his confidential advice tell more than they are likely to. In Frankfurter's case, the undistinguishing admiration that is being pumped out at his death does him a kind of dishonor. His complex and many-colored life deserves better than monochromatic platitudes.

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Notes and Asides

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On The Right

The Issue at Selma

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

I have not seen the problem of Selma, Alabama, put into deep focus. There is more at stake there—and elsewhere, and not only in the South —than the question whether "Negroes should have the vote." Of course they should have the vote—to the same degree that white people and yellow people and blue people should have the vote. But note the qualifier, "to the same extent." It may very well be that what Alabama ought to do is not to enlarge the franchise but to restrict it—irrespective of race, color, or creed.

Buckley

On the single issue of whether a Negro in Alabama should be deprived of the vote simply because of the color of his skin, it seems to me that there cannot be any argument: none moral, and certainly none constitutional. It is altogether a different question whether the State of Alabama would be better governed if every single Negro over the age of twenty-one were to participate at the polls.

There are other forms of governmental mismanagement than merely a racist mismanagement. You can take a state in which there are no minority problems at all and find woeful disorder, corruption, brutality, injustice. Experiences in this century in Chicago and Kansas City and Trenton attest to that. And there are countries all over the world ruled with the full acquiescence of the voters which are squalid despotisms in which life for the dissenter is far worse than life for the Negro in Selma, if only because he has hope—take a trip on the golden triangle of Egypt, Ghana, and Algeria.

The Constitution of the United States as amended does not permit the denial of a vote to anyone on account of his color or creed, but does permit the denial of a vote to anyone at all on the basis of impartially administered tests of education or intelligence as devised by the individual states.

In much of the South, what is so greatly feared is irresponsible, mobocratic rule, and it is a fear not easily dissipated, because it is well-grounded—that if the entire Negro population in the South were suddenly given the vote, and were to use it as a bloc, and pursuant to directives handed down by some of the more demagogic Negro leaders, chaos would ensue. Even as it now stands the case is difficult to make for extending the vote as far as it has been extended. I mean, in communities whose voters have returned Huey Long, and Jimmy Davis and Kissin' Jim Folsom. The red-neck vote, dominated by primitive and earthy passions; and the big-city vote, dominated by special-interest manipulation, are hardly contributions to faith in the democratic system.

True reform in the South would involve raising the standards for voting—and raising them impartially, for black and white alike. Perhaps more productive criteria could be found, but one that might be considered is a high school diploma or its equivalent. For the time being the imposition of such a test would undoubtedly mean the disqualification of more Negroes than whites, but that is merely a mechanical reflection of the existence of a disparity in training and accomplishment at the present moment which is precisely what the fuss is all about. What, after all, does the national association mean when it calls for the *advancement* of colored people?

Here is a political dilemma for the responsible leaders of the community in the South. They must give all Negroes the vote—as long as they give all whites the vote. The alternative is the uniform disfranchisement of the members of the community who are least prepared for the duties of citizenship. But this is something that would require an act of the legislatures, many of whose members precisely owe their incumbency to the enthusiasms of those they are now asked to deprive of the vote. Right action under such circumstances takes a great deal of fortitude—suicidal fortitude, in many cases: but at least the South should consider the alternative.

If it does not, it is merely a matter of time before it faces what might well be a hideous consequence: a suddenly enfranchised, violently embittered Negro population which will take the vote and wield it as an instrument of vengeance, shaking down the walls of Jericho even to their foundations, and reawakening the terrible genocidal antagonisms that scarred the Southern psyche during the days of Reconstruction.

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Special Report

Korea 1965

DAVID NELSON ROWE

Visiting Korea last month for the first time since 1959, I found a number of promising changes for the better, along with persistent problems from the past and some developing difficulties for the future.

In general, recent years have marked genuine progress. The new regime in Seoul is the best government that has emerged in Korea since 1945. The new president, General Chung Hee Park, and his administration cannot be expected to accomplish miracles in a short time, but they are working hard and well. The ever-present and endemic factionalism in Korean political and social life is something one has to see in order to believe. Along with this major handicap are the usual shortages of an emerging nation in personnel capable of leading and operating the processes of modernization and development.

The training of Koreans abroad for these development functions is at best a partial and rather faulty strategy, since all too many of them, aided and abetted by our own people in education, research and business, will not return home to live and work. If they do, they are faced with low incomes and lack of adequate working facilities. And the frames of reference of their education abroad are all too often irrelevant to the problems of the home country. These factors often combine to alienate, frustrate and embitter the trainees who do return, making them natural targets for factional, divisive and generally anti-government ideas and courses of action.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the military seized power in Korea, and that it is perforce they, and not the intellectuals and professional politicians, who represent the chief hope of progressive development. The military in Korea enjoy more genuine popular support than any other group. They represent a genuine bond with the Korean nation and people, and do not suffer from the alienation and the social and cultural denaturalization that characterizes so many of the intellectuals. Among the intellectual elite there is today no group which seems likely to emerge into top-level political leadership. The shortlived and disastrous experiment with such a regime which followed the U.S.-approved demise of the Syngman Rhee regime does not seem likely to be repeated in the near future, in spite of the constant threat in Seoul and elsewhere of student dissidence.

Everyone in South Korea wants reunification. But there is disagreement, representing every possible shade of opinion, as to how the division can be ended and Korea once again made into one country. These disagreements are a fertile field for the propaganda of the Communist North Koreans. This propaganda is spread out by every possible means, from subversive agents and propaganda literature smuggled from north to south, to the "higher stage" of Communist assassination plots carried out in South Korea to attempt to intimidate those who stand most firmly in the forefront of the anti-Communist fight there.

Communist agents in North Korea, and their collaborators and stooges in South Korea, are preaching a very simple message: namely, anti-Americanism. They remind the Koreans of the fact that the civil war, in which the Americans were the major non-Korean anti-Communist element, did not succeed in eliminating the division of Korea, and that what American policy in Korea today seems to represent in this respect is merely the hardening, for all time, of the division of Korea into two parts, nothing more. While almost all Koreans in the south know that American help has been a major factor in defending South Korea against Communist takeover, and while they genuinely prefer what they have in the Republic of Korea to the terror and horror of the North, still it is natural for the beneficiaries of such a policy gradually to grope and reach out for more. Anyone who establishes any real contact with Koreans knows just how tragic the division of Korea is to them. They are not, and will not be, reconciled to it. They are thus, to varying degrees, susceptible to persuasion that something must be done to reunify the country.

There is still a solid block of hard sentiment dominant in South Korea against any reunification measures that will bring Communism into the South in any way, shape or form. But as the years since the horrors of the civil war pass by, there does arise, with the aid of Communist, fellow traveler and misguided patriotic thinking, a genuine if slow and creeping danger that the political morale in the South will be corroded, and that a political opposition similar to that group which was evicted by the present government will try to exploit this corrosion.

The regime now in power in the Republic of Korea fully understands this threat to Korean security, and is mobilizing major resources to combat it. The new Freedom Center recently opened in Seoul under the auspices of the Korean Chapter of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League is a substantial and potentially powerful arm in the struggle against political demoralization in the Republic of Korea and in Asia generally. It deserves all the help that can be mobilized to support it.

We can expect opposition in the Republic of Korea to the regime's positive measures to come from some of those unhappy and often disoriented intellectuals of that country. They will be aided and abetted by the Liberal establishment in the West, including the United States. The Liberals can be relied on to fight with all their powerful financial, political and opinion-making resources against any effort to sustain the anti-Communist, anti-neutralist feelings, attitudes and policies of the people of South Korea and their government.

Therefore, conservatives everywhere must realize that Korea is not "finished business." The future of freedom in that tortured and long-suffering country is very much in the balance, and needs our sincere, sustained and clear-sighted support.

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The Third World War

While in That Corner

JAMES BURNHAM

The Vietnam crisis is being presented in the usual modern manner: as if history were suspended everywhere else on the globe while the spotlight focuses, this time, on Southeast Asia, as in prior scenes on Berlin, Taiwan, the Congo, Suez or Greece. In some degree, sometimes, this theatrical effect corresponds to objective reality, since it is actually the case that the attention of the comparatively small number of men directing the major governments cannot be spread everywhere at once. It tends therefore to concentrate on a single area at a time, where the problem seems most troublesome, acute and consequential. But often this single-scene impression is merely the image reflected by the distorting mirror of press and radio-TV. Areas X and Y do not in truth go to sleep just because area Z is getting the headlines and special features.

I do not mean to suggest that Southeast Asia is not the most important area of the world right now. It is—partly just because so many people think it so. And the decision our government makes with respect to Southeast Asia is the most important decision now pending. But history continues elsewhere.

'Polwar Field Exercise'

In the eastern Congo, the Communist-backed rebels are making a comeback that may succeed in smashing the Tshombe regime and driving Western influence out of the heart of Africa. The unsolved Cyprus conflict is for the moment quiet on the island itself, but, shrewdly exploited by Moscow, has indirectly brought a souring in relations between Turkey and the West. Indonesia, having concerted its strategy with Peking, presses forward with the Crush Malaysia campaign. Appeasement of Nasser is bringing appeasement's normal fruits. In the form of mob attacks on U.S. installations, the international Communist cadres are staging a world-wide polwar field exercise.

The most critical out-of-focus arena continues to be, as it has been for six years past, the offshore island of Cuba. Cuba is not merely, like South Vietnam, under enemy threat, but in enemy hands. Cuba is not on the opposite side of the world, where our interests, however weighty, are indirect, but ninety miles from our own continental coast, inside our final defensive perimeter. Cuba is not, like South Vietnam, the victim of a revolutionary campaign mounted from external sanctuaries, but itself a privileged sanctuary furthering widespread revolutionary operations within our hemisphere—even, indeed, training revolutionary cadres for targets on other continents. Cuba's harbors, caves and airfields and its growing military force are capable not only of strong defensive effort at home and aggressive moves against small neighbors of the Caribbean, but of auxiliary actions of considerable military significance against the United States.

Reflecting on such facts, it seems strange that we are doing so much —however short of enough—in relation to Vietnam and so little in relation to Cuba. We are spending nearly two million dollars a day in Vietnam; we have shipped in enormous quantities of weapons and military supplies; we have 24,000 soldiers on hand; we have deployed most of the Seventh Fleet in the area, and sent a number of its units into active combat; we are debating the question whether to shift to full-scale fighting.

As for Cuba, we let it go at an occasional U-2 overflight, a half-hearted sea surveillance, a little help for some exiles, some halfway, half-hearted economic sanctions.

The contrast is puzzling. It is almost as if the big show of action in distant Vietnam were serving as a cover for the failure to take action on Cuba. For the truth is that in recent months, while the Vietnam affair has been floodlit and Cuba pretty well blacked out, we have been reducing our Cuba-oriented operations, such as they had been, and softening our stand. Our surveillance has become less active and complete, our economic measures more desultory. Our intervention among the exiles is designed—apart from recruiting a few agents—principally to *prevent* development of a serious invasion, guerrilla or resistance campaign. So far as military threats and pressures go, we have taken the heat off and in effect declared an armistice.

Which is more important to the security of the United States, Vietnam or Cuba? The correct answer is that in the long run both are critical for our security. But if a choice had to be made, surely it is more dangerous that Cuba should be under enemy control; and—a point by no means irrelevant—Cuba is a lot easier for us to handle.

Cuba and Vietnam

Most of our military leaders believe we ought to have got rid of Castro, by following through on the Bay of Pigs invasion or by a subsequent move. Some reconcile themselves to our inaction by the argument that whenever it becomes "really necessary," we can clean up the Cuba matter without too much time or trouble.

This is a feeble rationalization. We can, true enough, take care of Cuba if we decide to; but not without a good deal of trouble, far more now than in 1961, and more tomorrow. We cannot and do not, meanwhile, neutralize her. Cuba remains an active source of revolutionary infection. And the example of the successfully defiant Castro corrodes the morale of our friends and strengthens anti-American sentiment throughout the world.

The Bay of Pigs debacle, rather than any local event, may well have been the turning point that started our fortunes downward in Southeast Asia. (I was in the region at the time, and I know from direct observation the shock effect that the American failure of nerve had on Southeast Asians.) It may not be a paradox to argue that the best move we could make in the Vietnamese war would be to oust Castro.

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We Can Win in Southeast Asia

A firsthand observer found that Americans fighting in Southeast Asia do not agree with defeatists at home who say we must get out because we can't win

ANTHONY HARRIGAN

As long ago as 1963, the *New Republic* was saying: "The war in South Vietnam cannot be won." More recently, Walter Lippmann, the oracle of retreat, solemnly declared: "Nobody in his right mind can imagine that this kind of war can be 'won'." Prof. Bernard B. Fall, author of *Ordeal at Dien Bien Phu,* and *The Two Vietnams,* lends his authority to the statement that "any lingering idea that the Vietnam war can be ended by the surrender of the Communists is totally unrealistic."

The chorus of defeatism is loud in the land. Bearded young beatniks march with signs asserting the hopelessness of the struggle against the Viet Cong. Clergymen and teachers of international relations write letters to the editors of the *New York Times,* declaring how fortunate the United States will be if Ho Chi Minh agrees to negotiate the establishment of a Yugoslav-type Communist state in a united Vietnam.

On the South China Sea, in the rice paddies and mountains of Vietnam, and on the airfields of Southeast Asia, there are strong views to the contrary. "We *can* win!" is the overwhelming opinion of the Americans who are fighting the war in Vietnam. This confidence is shared by senior commanders at home and overseas. But the professional soldier no longer is free, as he was in the 1950s, to state his case to the nation. Unfortunately, no senator has been as busy and articulate in explaining why the United States *can* win in Asia as Sen. Wayne Morse has been in stating the case for capitulation and withdrawal.

Nevertheless, the evidence exists to support those who believe that an American victory is possible in Southeast Asia. We have the ships. We have the planes. We have the weapons. All that is required for victory is firm leadership, historical understanding and a resolute people.

The U.S. public need pay no attention to the Lippmann nonsense that Americans can't win a war in Asia. Only twenty years ago the United States defeated a superbly organized, brilliantly led Asian adversary. There's nothing magical about the soil of Asia. If the United States has the right weapons, the proper strategy and the will to win, it will triumph in Asia as it has elsewhere on the globe.

The truth is that we have hardly begun to fight in Asia. But fight we must or, in the fullness of time, Chinese-led guerrillas will be in Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula or across the Rio Grande.

An American victory in Southeast Asia is a meaningless concept apart from a vision of history. The Viet Cong is but an advanced guard of a resurgent Chinese Empire. In centuries past, the Vietnam region was one of China's tributary states. The Middle Kingdom's power extended to Java and to Ceylon, and the great eunuch admiral, Cheng Ho, had led fleets as far as East Africa in the fifteenth century. China's history was arrested by the European states, and its own inner decay. But with the failure of nerve on the part of many once great Western nations, China again is reaching out—pushing southward into Vietnam, with Australia as the ultimate goal to the south; aiming, with its nibbling at India's frontier, to reach the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, and planning to extend and deepen its influence from the Congo to Somalia and from the Yemen to Albania.

Such is the vast scope of the Chinese vision of conquest. If the United States is to prevent its fulfillment, the American people and government must clearly understand the nature of the struggle in which they are involved and its long-term perspective. The struggle in Vietnam is not an isolated conflict, which can be settled by a tidy accord in which unpleasant truths can be brushed under a mass of legalistic documents. Vietnam is a key military campaign in the containment of Communist China and the reduction of its power. Our national purpose can be nothing less than that of suppressing China's war-making capacity and, by the force of our retaliatory assaults, convincing Peking that a southward course of empire is too costly and dangerous. If Communist China's leaders are compelled to look northward, toward the empty lands of the former Chinese Empire that now are in Soviet Russia's hands, all the better.

Obviously, a tit-for-tat policy of light retaliatory raids will not force Peking to any fundamental change in its policies. A far more comprehensive and massive assault will be needed, over a long period of time.

The United States needs to recognize, to begin with, that the problems in Southeast Asia are essentially military, not political. This conclusion is completely contrary to the ruling doctrine in the Department of State; but even the most deeply rooted doctrine can be altered by the facts. What makes the Viet Cong a force in the countryside is not its doctrine, but the fact that its doctrine is supported by arms in the hands of terrorists. Mao Tse-tung once said

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that the gun is the ultimate political weapon: only in this sense is the Southeast Asian struggle basically political.

If the United States were activated by a conscious policy of reducing Chinese Communist power over a period of years and decades, many specific military measures could be ordered—measures short of nuclear bombardment. The spectrum of warfare is wide, and many areas on it have not even been touched by the United States.

In view of the lack of awareness in this country that the struggle with Red China may last well into the twenty-first century, it is unlikely that the Administration—even if it were fully alert to the threat and determined to deal with it effectively—would be willing to shift overnight to the strongest techniques of dealing with the new Chinese Empire. We must assume, therefore, that the initial moves in the direction of a stronger response to China would have to be basically conventional in character. In time, air vehicles such as the Hovercraft, or air-cushion vehicles, will come into use, and add a new dimension to combat aviation and ground support. But such weaponry is not ready for field use in the near future—at least not on a large scale.

The prime area of military opportunity in South Vietnam is river warfare. Whereas roads are virtually nonexistent, or are in bad shape or dangerous for use by convoys, South Vietnam is laced with rivers. In the south, below Saigon, there is a vast network of canals built by the French. Seven river assault groups, operating small craft and armed with machine guns, automatic cannon and a few heavy weapons, have been organized. But such groups have never received the attention they deserve. The Vietnam war effort could use many times this number of river combat groups, and the boats and weapons could be greatly improved. The Viet Cong use the rivers and canals as a means of communication and supply. They terrorize the villagers who live along the streams. Yet these waterways also offer logical access *to* the Viet Cong. They should be used to maximum advantage by the forces of freedom.

On land, Americans have become accustomed to the ways of guerrilla warfare. But we have yet, as a nation, to realize that guerrilla war can be waged on the water. The so-called Junk Fleet doesn't meet the need. What is required are fleets of fast small craft armed with automatic cannon, 40 mm. Bofors weapons, heavy mortars, flame throwers and antimine equipment. The rivers, coastal waters and long seaward flank of Southeast Asia afford a magnificent opportunity to exert expanding sea pressure against the Communists. Unfortunately, Americans have virtually forgotten about river warfare. They think of it as something out of the American Civil War or the old Yangtze Patrol days in China. Yet river warfare is one of the military challenges of our time. Much of the fighting liable to take place in South Asia in the decade ahead may take place on the great rivers of the region—the Rajang in Borneo, the Salween and Irawaddy in Burma, and the Brahmaputra in India as well as the Mekong in the Indochinese successor states. It is on the rivers that anti-Communist forces may find their most secure operational bases.

Blockade: Why Not?

The maritime means available to our country are not limited to river fighting, however. There is heavy coastal traffic along the North Vietnamese and Chinese coasts—traffic which is of major importance to these countries, since they lack good land communications. Interdiction and offensive operations against this traffic are good ways of applying pressure against the Communist regimes. Beyond this lies the instrument of the blockade—the next major means of seriously injuring the economy of either North Vietnam or Red China. If the United States seriously intends victory over the Viet Cong, which is dependent on North Vietnam, then a blockade of North Vietnam's ports should be the next item of national business. The entire complex of plants and factories around Hanoi depend on electric power. That power, and transportation in North Vietnam, in turn depend on oil that arrives by tanker. In the Seventh Fleet, the United States has the means of carrying out an effective blockade. Such an action is no more an act of war, certainly, than the bombing raids, and in the long run, a blockade would be even more effective than the raids. Aerial attack can hinder a country's military and industrial operations, but a blockade can completely paralyze a nation. If, therefore, the air raids do not deter the North Vietnamese from supporting the Viet Cong, then clearly a blockade should be instituted. This, more than any other military measure, would help achieve victory in Vietnam.

The United States always has to consider the possibility of Red Chinese intervention, which would greatly alter the situation. The American estimate is that a Chinese attack, if it comes, will be a three-pronged assault, with drives along the Vietnamese coast, down through Laos, and deep into Thailand via eastern Burma. Even if such an offensive is not launched in 1965 or 1966, the probability of its taking place sometime in the future is high. In a direct military confrontation with China, the United States could use nuclear weapons. But even if the decision were against using such weapons, because of pressure at home or from friends abroad, other powerful weapons exist to halt Chinese aggression. To engage Red China in a massive conventional land war would be madness, of course, because of China's colossal population. But if China begins a direct attack, the United States should immediately resort to anti-crop chemicals. The great weakness of Communist China is its inability to feed its population adequately. Anti-crop chemicals are perhaps the best means we possess of curbing Peking's aggression. With superiority in airpower, the United States has the means of introducing over a large area of China those chemicals which reduce crop yields. In short, we have it within our power to impose famine upon the nation that seeks to engulf all its neighbors. Dr. Clifford F. Rassweiler, former president of the Industrial Research Institute, recently urged that the United States review the effectiveness of such weapons. Referring to Vietnam, he said: "But suppose we could destroy all vegetation and prevent regrowth for the crop years in the areas which form the hard core of Viet Cong strength. The Viet Cong

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Alliance for What?

A Latin American lawyer-economist-diplomat looks over our conduct toward his continent and wonders how we would like to be done by as we are doing

ROBERTO ROTH

The Alliance for Progress, born in 1961, has ground to a stop. South American governments charge Washington red tape is responsible for the stalemate, while Washington planners blame "foot-dragging" by the recipient governments on the basic reforms deemed necessary to qualify for U.S. aid. Either the U.S. is reneging on its cash commitments or its Southern neighbors are turning down the biggest handout in their history.

Responsible Latin Americans have up to now been understandably reticent in their criticism of the Alliance since all criticism to date has been dismissed as the vicious ranting of feudal landowners, military cliques, tax swindlers and other reactionaries. As a result, the U.S. has heard few dissenting voices, outside of the muted demurrals of Latin American bureaucrats, who felt the dollars were not rolling in rapidly enough.

The stated economic aim of the Alliance was to pump $20 billion into Latin American economies over a ten-year span. Before the era of the planner this would have been done by subscribing bonds, buying goods and selling machinery on credit. But since the planners have taken over, a string of national and international committees, commissions, agencies, corporations, authorities, boards, embassies and funds must consult, confer, meet, allot, allocate, disburse, implement, differ, endorse and finalize before funds can flow. Harried experts, consultants, officials, advisers and statisticians on field trips, on-spot inspections and trouble-shooting safaris overflow flights to and from South America. Telephones ring, wires hum, cables flow. So should the money some day. But the results to date are not only discouraging but negative. The 1963 figures, far from showing a $4-to-$6 billion increase in investment in the area, show a net outflow of $23.5 million, which will presumably be offset with more taxpayer money.

'Bureaucratic Expansion'

The first result of the Alliance for Progress has been a bureaucratic expansion, as Latin American countries are instructed to duplicate U.S. and international agency administrative set-ups in order to receive funds. The president of one country, conspicuous for its overstaffed bureaucracy, was requested by the representation of an international agency, in just one fifteen-minute interview, to set up four different TVA-type agencies. He graciously complied. He already has seventeen agencies doing business in the field of housing alone, but he had to up the number by two to comply with an AID request.

Even where agencies exist, schemes thought up by planners and bureaucrats to convey money into the economy somehow always involve additional administrative machinery. Argentina has an excellent National Mortgage Bank which in its eighty years of existence has financed umpteen thousand homes. Yet U.S. officials demanded and the Argentine Government agreed to set up a separate National Housing Fund to receive AID money. If and when the money arrives, the new agency will discover that there is not a single institution in the country to which the money can be made available under the term of its agreement with AID.

In the few instances when the money does arrive, after seeping down through the bureaucratic maze, it has a way of creating more problems than it solves. "Social interest" projects get top priority: schools, hospitals, etc. But schools and hospitals once built must be staffed and maintained. Salaries must be paid, paint renewed, light and gas bills settled and finally an AID loan repaid, all out of public funds without a corresponding increase in the tax base from which they are drawn. This is in fact true. What these public loans for non-productive though socially acceptable projects actually do is to tie up a good share of a country's foreign credit that might better be used to expand production and produce the taxes to pay for social progress.

The one country in Latin America which had adopted the basic reforms written into the Alliance for Progress as its part of the deal and what's more, carried them all out, even before the Alliance was coined, is Bolivia. It gets more per capita than any other Latin American nation and has been held up as an example of what the U.S. expects of Latin America.

Bolivia has two sizable exports: tin and coca. The once profitable tin mines have been nationalized and operate at a $16 million deficit per annum. U.S. taxpayers cover this plus 50 per cent of the national budget.

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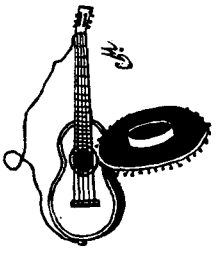
Bolivian coca and its extract, cocaine, a narcotic, rank above Red Chinese opium as a headache for every narcotics bureau in the Western world. All efforts to strangle the trade at its point of origin have failed. Agrarian reform has run private farmers out of business. They have been replaced by farm collectives. No foreign business of any size has invested in the country since the "structural reforms" began twelve years ago. Moneyed Bolivians have taken everything they had out of the country, plus themselves. Lawyers, doctors, engineers have fled. No free press exists. The last independent newspaper had its presses gutted ten years ago, by a mob led by Dr. Felman Velarde, until recently Minister of Foreign Affairs.

'Castro-Style Militia'

Thanks to U.S. taxpayers the Bolivian citizen is supposed to be better off. No longer a serf of the all-powerful tin baron of yore, he now responds to the beck and call of the equally powerful labor bosses. These control a Castro-style militia that has superseded the army in maintaining law and order. Four U.S. citizens, including three Embassy officials, spent a harrowing two weeks as hostages of this militia, and learned exactly what kind of law and order is maintained. Shaky Bolivian currency is not even quoted in neighboring countries.

Under President Goulart, Brazil was the only other Latin American country to attempt the sweeping reforms the Alliance calls for. It achieved outright bankruptcy in 31 short months, in the process gobbling up nearly one billion American tax dollars and welshing on interest payments owed on some $3 billion from former grants. Goulart started by expropriating owned utilities. Since he had no money to pay for these companies, Alliance planners came across with the dough; Goulart was after all a "reform-minded president." That enabled Goulart to ride herd over local opposition to his free-spending ways. Here was a statesman who could actually make the *gringos* pay for their own powerhouses!



With the blessings of the Alliance, Goulart then attempted to bulldoze through Congress a constitutional amendment enabling him to take over land and pay for it in worthless bonds. A miracle of opposition forbearance kept him in power a year longer, until his displeasure with a sensible Congress that balked at the Alliance - promoted land reform caused him to take a dangerous step. He tried to ram it through by Executive Decree in defiance of the Constitution.

Castro

Had Goulart not been generously endowed with Alliance funds and encouragement when he set a course that could only lead to disaster, he would never have got to first base. The popularity his reforms engendered can best be gauged from *Time*'s description of his ouster: "If ever there was a popular revolution, it was the one that last week toppled Brazilian President João Goulart."

Is it coincidence or a quirk of fate, that the two regimes most heavily subsidized and AIDed by the U.S., Paz Estensoro's Bolivia and Goulart's Brazil, have consistently voted against every U.S. anti-Castro proposal in the Organization of American States? That they have been the only two South American countries visited by a Communist head of state?

But the United States' policy continues to be "to produce a planned, peaceful, social revolution" as soon as possible. Otherwise, official policy directives say, "a violent catastrophical upheaval will follow." Key to this revolution in the predominantly agricultural and stock-raising countries of Latin America is land reform. Outside of what has happened in Bolivia and what was intended for Brazil, no one knows what is meant by the term. A glimpse was furnished by Hernán Santa Cruz, a representative of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization when referring officially to the Alliance for Progress: "Land must be expropriated without payment and parceled out."

Down-to-earth economists outside the Alliance staffs point out: that wholesale parceling of land cannot but lead to more subsistence farming; that economic farming in a modern world requires large acreage, large capital outlay and modern know-how beyond the capacity of the average Latin American peon. That the problem is not lack of land, for vast un-exploited and even unexplored expanses exist in practically every Latin American country, but lack of capital investment. That *latifundia* is a slogan but *minifundia* a fact. That a wholesale offensive against the landowning interests, the moneyed sectors of the economy, results first in capital hoarding and then in capital flight. That no amount of public capital, *i.e.*, U.S. AID funds, can possibly replace local capital. That a favorable investment climate can only be had through respect for property rights. That landowners produce 90 per cent of the exports of the region and that only by their efforts has social and economic chaos been averted.

The Big Bad Landowner

These arguments run full tilt into official Alliance directives that hold all landowners to be parasitic, oligarchic, feudally backward and socially dangerous characters whose backs must be broken before real progress can be achieved.

Following Alliance for Progress instructions, each Latin American country has had to set up a Central Planning Agency and draw up an overall economic plan. The Agencies have, of course, been set up and abundantly staffed, but the plans have been delayed in preparation. This Latin procrastination has maddened Alliance staffers to the point of time and again vowing to cut off funds to the

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Letter from Brazil

The South American Impasse

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The burning problem in Latin America is primarily politics; this continent-and-a-half has adopted political forms that do not suit it at all. Republican democracy ideally fits Switzerland or Iceland but not Peru or Nicaragua or Haiti, which have nothing at all in common with either Switzerland or Iceland. After all, republican democracy doesn't work in Italy or France either.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Talking with a group of Argentine business leaders and intellectuals during a lunch in one of the oldest clubs in Buenos Aires, I accidentally admitted my high regard for monarchy, whereupon everybody practically shouted monarchist sentiments. "But can you imagine a monarchy in Argentina?" they asked. I admitted that I could not.

"You see," one man said, "Brazil eclipsed us completely because she had eighty years of monarchical experience. We had nothing of the kind. We waged a series of savage civil wars, suffered under unbearable dictators and let San Martín, our liberator, retire in disgust. He was convinced that only the monarchy could save us and he died in his freely chosen French exile."

I found nobody who thought that any of the last presidents before or after Perón has been men worthy of affection, respect, or admiration. The army's interventions were considered as the lesser evil. And here is *the* Latin American safety valve: when the masses, led by demagogues, have gone too far left and corruption has reached a climax, the army acts. And this is more than a safety valve, it is part of the unwritten constitutional *system*. Chile forms an exception: its German-style army is "non-political."

Traveling from Argentina to Brazil one is struck by the similarities of their situations. In Brazil democracy is as impractical and abortive as it is in Argentina. The army plays exactly the same palliative role here but is unable to solve the political problem. The monarchical remedy does not seem so outlandish in Brazil. On the other hand a strong tradition of Auguste Comte's ideas still permeates the official state philosophy (and this in spite of the Crucifix in both Chambers of the ultramodern Parliament in Brasilia, though well in keeping with the Comtean *Ordem e Progresso* on the flag).

The vast masses of the people in Brazil are not really interested in politics and have no specific loyalty to parties. As often in Europe, they are not swayed or moved by abstractions, they believe in *men*. Even today, after his suicide, Getulio Vargas appears to the man in the street as a "great, if tragic man." At first a genuine dictator, then retired, and finally duly elected president, he was unable to stem the immense tide of corruption. Betrayed and deserted, this man, who had succeeded as dictator but failed within the framework of democracy, killed himself. Yet his name is so overpowering that Jango Goulart (slyly cultivating the legend that he is Getulio's natural son) could cash in on it.

Big Brother in Brazil

In Brazil, as everywhere else where the image of the Father is denied in the political domain, Big Brother gets a chance. Here politics is based on the modest formula of the lesser evil.

Juscelino Kubitschek, who eventually succeeded Vargas, ruined Brazilian finances, engaged in the hotly debated adventure of setting himself a monument by building Brasilia, but at least gave new impetus to the industrialization of Brazil. Many see in him a playboy of great style. Jañio Quadros never was considered normal by many Brazilians. And Jango Goulart was a spoilt, rich man who talked about social reform, sought the support of the Communist Left and, while almost turning over the country to Red dictatorship, enriched himself even further. He now may join Perón in lush retirement in Spain. (Does Argentina still dream of Perón? Yes, the masses still want him, unmindful that it was Perón who emptied the till for them until the country faced total bankruptcy.)

Has Brazil undergone a real revolution? Yes and no. The army headed by Castelo Branco, a politically untrained but honest and determined man with a very clean record who inspires confidence, gives no sign of stepping down, but permanent military dictatorship would be something new for Brazil. "Progressive" Catholic circles are mumbling protests and so does the Leftist intelligentsia. And, indeed, one has to ask what Brazil will represent from now on. Certainly a financial expert like Campos and a brilliant man like Lacerda bode well for the future. But a military dictatorship is not really a permanent institution (as even the generals in Madrid, Paris and Cairo knew in their hearts), and the return to Parliamentarism, now deeply wounded, would not do either. To the more thoughtful observers, this impasse appears complete.

In Petropolis alone I counted three statues dedicated to the memory of Pedro II. How many are there in the whole country? Monuments for deposed monarchs are to be found nowhere else in the world except here. And monarchists of both kinds do exist in Brazil—nostalgic ones who cannot imagine a restoration because it would be too good to be true, and more dynamic ones who refuse to give up. There is even a Pretender. He makes no public claims and is permitted to live in the country. This gifted man is the brother-in-law of the French as well as of the Portuguese Pretenders. His name is also Pedro. If everything else fails, he might some day fill a void. History has produced many examples of monarchical restorations where kings and emperors made only the feeblest efforts to regain their thrones. They often merely returned as the receivers in a gigantic bankruptcy.

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Where do they go?

- Almost half (48.9%) have traveled for business **within** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months (200 miles round-trip, or away from home overnight). The median number of trips taken by these business travelers is 4, and the average number 10.4. Seven out of ten (70.3%) used a plane, 74.8% used a private car, 30.0% rented a car, and 19.0% took a train.
- Business travel **outside** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months was undertaken by 8.8%. The median number of trips taken by these business travelers is 1 and the average number is 2.8. As for transportation used during these trips, 84.2% used a plane, 30.5% used a private car, 23.2% rented a car, 14.7% took a boat, and 12.6% used the railroad. Canada was the most popular country visited (39.8%), Europe took second place with 32.7% going there, and Mexico was third with 20.4% going there.
- Slightly more than 4 out of 5 (80.9%) have traveled on vacation, or for pleasure, **within** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months (3 days or more). The median number of trips taken by these vacationers or pleasure travelers is 2 and the average number 2.4. Almost 9 out of 10 (88.6%) used a private car, 30.9% took a plane, and 10.7% used the railroad.
- Vacation or pleasure travel **outside** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months was undertaken by 21.0%. The median number of trips taken by these vacation or pleasure travelers is 1, and the average number is 1.5. As for transportation used, 60.3% took a plane, 47.0% used a private car, 26.3% rented a car, 19.4% took a boat, and 16.8% used the railroad.

What do they buy?

- Almost everyone owns an automobile (93.7%). Among those owning an automobile, over half, (51.3%) own two or more automobiles, with 10.7% owning 3 or more. The median number of automobiles owned is 2, and the average number is 1.7.
- When asked about 9 specific items, almost 3 out of 4 (73.2%) own a high fidelity record player, 41.8% own a piano, 13.3% have color TV, and 10.5% own an outboard motor boat. The other

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five items are swimming pools (8.3%), home electric organs (6.7%), daysailers (3.2%), inboard motor boats (3.0%), and auxiliary sailboats (1.6%).

• When queried as to which of these purchases they made in the past 12 months, 41.9% of the owners said they bought their color television set within the past 12 months, 35.7% the auxiliary sailboat, 29.3% the electric organ, 28.0% the daysailer, 20.9% the swimming pool, 20.8% the inboard motor boat, outboard motor boat 19.1%, high fidelity record player 15.2%, and piano 6.5%.

• Of those having air conditioning, almost two-thirds (63.8%) have individual room air conditioners, whereas slightly more than one-third (36.7%) have central equipment air conditioning. Of those persons having individual room air conditioners, half of them (50.0%) have two or more, and 20.8% have 3 or more individual room air conditioners. The median number of air conditioners is 1, and the average number is 1.8.

• In an average month, slightly more than half of the persons (53.5%) buy **fiction** books, and 82.3% buy **non-fiction** books. For fiction books the median is 1 and for non-fiction books the median is 2. The average number for **fiction** books is 1.5, and for **non-fiction** books the average is 2.2.

• About 5 out of 6 persons serve or use alcoholic beverages — beer, wine, liquor. Of those persons using or serving these beverages, 81.4% have domestic beer and ale, 69.4% have domestic wines, 68.3% Scotch whiskey, 68.0% bourbon, 58.7% gin, 44.7% liqueurs and cordials, 42.2% vodka, 41.7% imported wines, 37.1% brandy, 34.5% rum, 30.4% blended whiskey, 28.2% Canadian whiskey, 23.8% imported beer and ale, 17.9% rye, and 8.3% Irish whiskey.

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Letter From Latin America

'64 Balance Sheet and '65 Prospectus

ROBERT PETER

For South America it was a year of agitation, and in many places a year of decision. In both Brazil and Chile a gathering Communist wave was dashed and broken, with consequences that weakened the Communist momentum in other parts of the continent.

Brazil. As 1964 came in, President João Goulart seemed to be traveling the Communist road, and there was a real threat of Communist takeover. In late March a revolt of the military and the anti-Communists broke out; by April, Goulart was overthrown and Marshal Humberto Castelo Branco had taken power. A major purge claimed many prominent people, among them former President Juscelino Kubitschek. In some cases the purge went too far. The new regime promised that elections would be held in 1966. There is some tension between him and the regime. The greatest achievement of the regime, and especially of the capable Economics Minister Roberto Campos, is the stemming of the huge inflation. At the start of 1964 everyone expected a 140 per cent rise in the cost of living. The government hopes to limit the inflation to 20 to 30 per cent by mid-1965—high enough, but a great success in comparison with what has gone before. The government also seeks to entice fresh foreign capital by softening the provisions of the law which governs the repatriation of profits.

Chile. Throughout South America it was feared that the Communist-dominated People's Front would win the September elections which would have amounted to a legal Communist takeover, the first such in South America. But the Presidency went to Senator Eduardo Frei Montalvo, the candidate of the Christian Democratic Party, with an astonishingly large majority. His regime is regarded as being "left of center," or, as he himself says, "socialism without Marxism." Frei inherited a foreign debt of $1.8 billion and an inflationary engine running at 30 per cent yearly. He has proposed a broad program that ranges from production increases to agrarian reform; he has asked Parliament for constitutional reforms; and he has a lot of other ideas still unelaborated.

Argentina. In 1964 the Peronist labor unions settled on a so-called "battle plan" that called for continuous unrest. The climax was the attempt of the former dictator Juan Perón to return to Argentina. Much blood would have flowed had he succeeded; one must account it a lucky break that Perón was detained in Brazil and sent back to Spain. In Argentina, too, inflation is rampant. The regime has printed a great deal of money to meet the deficit, but the new budget still falls short in anticipated revenue by about $1 billion. The currency has been officially devalued and has sunk also on the free market. The trade balance showed a surplus; but foreign investments declined, apparently as a result of the scare announcements concerning the rescinding of the petroleum treaties. The future of Argentina remains a major enigma.

Bolivia. President Paz Estenssoro was re-elected in May under inauspicious conditions (there had been considerable dickering with the constitution) and ousted by a revolution in November. The present military regime has announced new elections for 1965. Economically the situation has not yet improved: the principal source of income is tin, and the U.S. makes up the deficit.

Ecuador. Here too the military regime has promised to hold elections in 1965. The economic situation shows a small improvement.

Peru. President Fernando Belaunde Terry, who displayed strong demagogic tendencies before the election, has proven to be a serious President. It is regrettable that the strong parliamentary opposition has given him so many difficulties. Peru rests upon a sounder economic base than most other South American countries, although certain inflationary signals are in evidence (the cost of living is up 10 per cent) and the years-long stability of the currency is now in doubt. A budget deficit is foreseen, but I predict a period of relative tranquility.

Colombia. Political difficulties seem to be endangering the conservative-Liberal united front that is so important for the tranquility of the country. Although the regime is working on an austerity program, the cost of living has risen noticeably; the payments deficit is $750 million.

Venezuela. Since the inauguration of President Leoni the activities of the insurgents have greatly subsided, although they have not come to a complete halt. Heavy shipments of arms from Cuba to the guerrilla forces were discovered and gave rise to the Venezuelan motion against Cuba in the Organization of American States—all of which produced certain resolutions against the aggressor and here and there a rupture of diplomatic relations. Diplomatic problems did not hinder the economy from developing further, and the national product climbed 7 per cent from the preceding year.

Uruguay. Politically all was calm, but economically there was cause for concern. The peso was devalued, but nevertheless a large part of the wool remained unsold—and wool is the principal export. Imports were restricted, and the cost of living went up 30 per cent above the 1963 level.

Paraguay. Lovers of democracy may suffer a twinge when they realize that the most stable conditions obtain in the country that is South America's only personal dictatorship. Of course political stability is achieved under a dictatorship in hardly desirable ways, but the economy also shows a steady and uniform growth.

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Letter from London

Alabama, Here We Come

COLM BROGAN

In his first speech as Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson memorably insulted a new member, Alderman Griffith of Smethwick, by expressing the hope that he would be treated as a "Parliamentary leper." Griffith had unforgivably defeated Patrick Gordon Walker, the new Foreign Secretary. Worse, he had defeated him by bringing up the subject of colored immigration. Gordon Walker, who lost his cabinet post when voters rejected him a second time in the Leyton by-election, had led the Labor attack on the Immigration Bill when it was first introduced. He passionately declared that the Bill would bring the Commonwealth down in ruins and the Labor Party voted solidly against it on the ground that it was a thinly disguised exercise in racial discrimination.

'The Wilson Venom'

The fine idealistic fervor of the ideologues received a very cold douche when they discovered that their own supporters in the country heartily approved of racial discrimination and wanted a lot more of it. The Parliamentary Labor party had to do a shabby and dishonest about-turn, but it was too late to save Gordon Walker. An amiable, cultivated Oxford Don, he was well and truly licked at Smethwick. Leyton merely completed his fall.

Hence the venom of Harold Wilson. Hence also the holy wrath of Mervyn Stockwood, the Progressive bishop of Southwark who more or less put the voters of Smethwick under interdict. His Lordship said that some day those voters would have to appear at the bar of judgment—"and then God help them." Perhaps God will help them. The bishop certainly won't.

Some pretty wild things were said, and believed, during that Smethwick campaign, but the Labor candidate was beaten by the brute facts of the situation. It is all very well for a Hampstead intellectual Socialist to say that he doesn't mind having "a nigger for his neighbor," for as likely as not the nigger will be a young Ph.D. with the same views on Bartok, Brecht and the *nouvelle vague*. Even if they differ, they can always keep out of each other's way; they have plenty of room.

But the case is altered in crowded working class districts where people have to live on top of each other, whether they like it or not. Conditions are tolerable only if all the people follow the same way of life. There is a direct correlation between intolerance on the one hand and ignorance and narrow experience on the other. This sturdy British working class attitude was neatly summed up by the girl who said to me that she didn't like foreigners—any foreigners. I asked her why. "Well," she said after a thoughtful pause, "they're foreign."

But the intense feeling aroused in crowded areas by the immigrants is by no means entirely the result of blind prejudice. Many of the immigrants bring the primitive conditions of their native life with them. Whole streets sink rapidly into squalor. The overcrowding is fantastic (and illegal) and there is a serious threat to health. Tuberculosis is once again becoming a major disease. Colored immigrants who are only five per cent of the population of Bradford account for more than half the recorded cases of venereal disease. Then there is dirt and dilapidation.

These are some of the reasons why the Labor club in Smethwick practices a color bar. There are others, anti-white discrimination being one of them. Because of the appalling overcrowding they suffer from, colored women get preference in the allocation of maternity beds and for the same reason their children get preference in admission to nursery schools.

In ordinary schools, the presence of large numbers of colored children is a huge educational handicap, for many of them, especially the Pakistanis, come to school without knowing a single word of English. Neither do their parents and they don't want to learn. They are here quite simply for the money and they huddle together, practicing their own *apartheid*. White parents in the Middlesex constituency of Southall were so angry at the slow progress of their own children that they demanded separate classes for the colored children until they had learned English.

The member for Southall is Mr. George Pargeter, a highly original Socialist. He has firmly opposed the Immigration Act but he also wants the immigrants to get the hell out of Southall. They should be "encouraged" to move to jobs and houses elsewhere. He tells Asia and Africa that we welcome the wretched refuse of their teeming shores — but not, of course, in Southall. His voice might find an echo in Paddington. In that crowded London borough, a hospitable immigrant gave a party for the people who lived in his small house. There were fifteen of them. The party went on all night and the noise was so hellish that it literally brought the roof down. A piece of coping stone fell into the street right on top of the host's shiny new car. Strangely, the white neighbors did *not* immediately start a fund to buy him a new car.

I sometimes think that you Americans don't know how lucky you are. After all, you have only one color problem and we have half a dozen. First, we have the West Indians. English is the only language they know and they are the products of a society that was entirely of our own creation. Their background is Christian, though somewhat eccentrically so. West Indian nurses are very popular among the older patients, though they are said to be rather easily upset in an emergency. The West Indians at least *want* to be accepted.

(continues)

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The Mohammedan Pakistanis mostly don't. Their background is not merely non-Christian but anti-Christian. They are for the great part illiterate and even spoken English is something they must learn painfully and imperfectly, if they are willing to learn it at all. There is also a little matter of slavery.

A fair proportion of the Pakistanis are here by fraud, on forged passports and work permits. The cruel deceptions practiced on ignorant peasants are shocking. There are men in Pakistan who sell at a high price the simple application form issued free by the British Government. To some of the illiterate the application form is a permit in itself. Others are so accustomed to the corruption of petty officials that they take it for granted that they can hope to get nothing for free. A genuine honest-to-goodness forged passport and work permit costs about three hundred pounds. That money has to be paid somehow. Often it is paid by peonage.

'Forgery Racket'

Recently a young Pakistani was charged in a Bradford court with offenses against the Immigration Act. His father had signed a declaration that he was only fifteen. (Minors under sixteen may be admitted without a work permit). He was nineteen and because he could be deported at any moment, his Pakistani masters in Bradford gave him board and lodging and six shillings a week for pocket money. His wage was fourteen pounds a week. In addition he had been told that if his father did not produce yet another three hundred pounds the police would be informed. The forgery racket is now widespread and its consequence is Brown Slavery.

On top of the Pakistanis we have the Sikhs and on top of the Sikhs we have three different kinds of Nigerian. We have Christian Nigerians, pagan Nigerians and Black Muslim Nigerians. These last are followers of the Prophet who practice polygamy. One of them, a very smart cookie indeed, is a lawyer who is making a packet out of property deals. He has three wives, one white and two black, and three sets of children. The Nigerian wife he first married looks forward to going back to Nigeria where she will be in a position to put the other two wives in their place. The neighbors don't like this very much.

But Nigerians are perhaps the most industrious and the least assertive of the immigrants. The hygienic habits of Indians and Pakistanis have driven some employers to install separate lavatory accommodations. The West Indians are good-natured unless they are in drink, but there is hostility between immigrants from different Caribbean islands reminiscent of the ancient clan feuds of the Scottish Highlands. I was once ill-advised enough to write about West Indians as if they were all of a kind, and got a high-powered rocket from a very pretty and intelligent girl from Barbados. She said I had been insulting in lumping Barbadians and Jamaicans together. The Jamaicans, she said, her eyes flashing, "are hardly any better than your own working class." For the sake of friendly racial relations I hope she does not make that kind of comparison in the hearing of any of our own working class.

Considering the complexity and the urgency of the racial issues, it is astonishing that the Conservative Party tacitly agreed to keep the issues out of the General Election. They took part in a pretense that there was one single "problem" that was not really a problem at all, and that none were exercised about it except the stupid, the ignorant and the malignantly ill-disposed.

This was not only bad party tactics, but it was unfair to the immigrants themselves. Because an objective discussion of the subject was condemned as racialism, there was no discussion. There was no attempt to explain to the native population most closely affected that, whereas some of the habits of some of the immigrants were intrinsically objectionable, other habits were disconcerting merely because they were unfamiliar. There was no attempt to distinguish between one group of immigrants and another. In fact, those Progressives who lumped all immigrants together were just as racialist as the propagandists who shouted, "Keep Britain White." Smethwick infuriated the Progressives because it disproved their assertion that there was no widespread hostility to colored immigration. It infuriated them further because it took the moral shine off their condemnation of goings-on in Little Rock, Montgomery and Birmingham.

Have the Progressives never stopped to ask themselves that if the British are so tolerant of color difference, why is there not a single colored policeman in the whole country?

To return to Smethwick where I started, one of the strongest causes of local resentment was the habit of unemployed Indians drawing their unemployment dole and then spending the rest of the day playing cards happily for money in the public park. Park attendants ordered them off the grass, but they came back. Policemen were equally ineffective, but at last a solution was found to scatter them for good. *Police dogs.*

Alabama, here we come!

SOUTHEAST ASIA

(Continued from p. 188)

installations and activity would be exposed. The Viet Cong could no longer live on local crops."

Even so brief a survey shows that the United States has many options available in the military field, ranging from the orthodox to the unorthodox. Each and all of them, if exercised, would bring forth protests engineered by the Communists on a global scale. The domestic and foreign protests evoked by a few retaliatory air raids are evidence of what lies in the future if the Administration presses for defeat of the Viet Cong and a sharp cut-back in Red China's power.

Inasmuch as the United States has refrained from many available military measures, it is clearly absurd for any responsible person to say, on the record up to now, that the U.S. cannot win in Vietnam. The United States, with its vast technological and military resources, cannot be defeated by weak Asian powers—not on the battlefield. If we are defeated in Vietnam and elsewhere in Asia, we will be defeated in our own minds. We will have allowed the Communists to break our will to win. If we possess the will to win, victory will follow on the battlefields and on the high seas.

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Principles and Heresies

The Horizons of Conservatism

FRANK S. MEYER

EVERY ACTION has a reaction, and the recent intense concentration of conservatives on strictly political matters has engendered certain subjective attitudes among them that bear serious consideration. I am not referring to the critique of the 1964 campaign and the proposals for more effective use of conservative resources in the future, which I and others have discussed in these pages. Rather I am concerned with widespread manifestations of a spirit that would narrow down the sweep and meaning of the conservative movement to total concentration on the techniques and methods that can lead to victory at the polls.

Meyer

There is nothing wrong, of course, with the effort to attain professional competence politically. Indeed, in the past conservatives have badly neglected these skills, and it is a great step forward that they have learned to appreciate them. But there is great danger presently of forgetting that they are just that—skills, and no more. Too much concentration on them leads inevitably to opportunism (elect a new duplicate of Eisenhower and hope he turns out all right) or demagogy (frighten the people by telling them that the natural working out of the Liberal world view is a Communist conspiracy, or a "Fabian" conspiracy, or a plot hatched out in the cellars of *Foreign Affairs*). The skills and techniques of political organization have their place in our society, but they are only secondary auxiliaries for a movement whose duty it is radically to transform the consciousness of an age.

THIS IS WHAT the contemporary American conservative movement exists to do. It has no other excuse for being. If it allows fascination with methods and techniques to become primary in its thinking, it will inevitably succumb to the temptation of gaining power for the sake of gaining power. If it wins thus, those who achieve power will be the prisoners of their methods, little different in essentials from the men who hold power today. Concentration on method without the greater emphasis on transforming popular consciousness can only lead to rivalry with the Liberals in appealing to the baser instincts of the people. The conservative movement has a more difficult task: to appeal to the higher instincts and beliefs that survive, half smothered, in the American people. This is the only foundation for a victory worth winning.

This is a different problem from the one of developing concrete programs expressing the conservative position (about which I have written recently), although the two problems are somewhat interconnected. The working out of concrete programs is essentially an aspect of political activity. But it is also connected with the problem I am here discussing, because it is not possible to develop programs with meaning, depth, and appeal which goes beyond the lower instincts of the electorate, except upon the basis of a broad and profound development of the conservative world view.

That world view is the world view of Western civilization. Conservatism in a revolutionary age, like the one we are living through, cannot simply stand for a series of received opinions. Too much has been shattered for it to be possible ever simply to return to the forms and modes of the past. Conservatism must be something more than preservative; it must restore, and it must create new forms and modes to express the essential content of our civilization. That requires an activity far wider than the political, for the political is the sphere of struggle, struggle *for* a vision that is articulated. Conservatives today have the double task of simultaneously fighting for a position and articulating it. And this latter task is not secondary, but decisive. It is a task which is both moral (in the broad sense of living by high standards) and intellectual (in the broad sense of using reason to apply tradition to new circumstances).

WE ATTACK the Establishment, and justly; but we have not met its pretensions area by area and point by point at the level that *our* pretensions to be the heirs of Western civilization demand. We have made a good beginning, but an enormous amount remains to be done, and there is serious danger that present tendencies to concentrate narrowly on the political will obscure the breadth of our obligations.

We cannot be content with slogans, with oversimplifications of complex reality, with neat formulae to capture votes. As the defender of the tradition of the West, the conservative movement must stand for excellence —and excellence at every level of human endeavor. This means that political victories achieved in shoddy ways are not conservative victories, but only insubstantial ripples on the surface of events. It also means that in deepening its championship of Western civilization, the conservative movement must go far beyond the limited area of politics and economics.

In the outlook of a society—and, by the same token, in the outlook of a movement devoted to transforming a society—politics and economics only reflect an underlying understanding of the nature and destiny of men. But such understanding involves the broadest considerations, considerations that go as far afield from the political as the areas of philosophy, the sciences, literature, and history. At every point along the entire gamut of human consciousness, the fundamental insights of contemporary conservatism have the utmost relevance, but they will not come to bear effectively if one-sided effort narrows the potentiality of conservatism. Political action will have true significance only if it is backed by the broadest development of conservative potentialities.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

"One Man, One Vote" In South Africa

In these United States, the simplistic Warren notion of "one man, one vote" will work mischief—much injuring, rather than fulfilling, the responsible democracy for which Tocqueville hoped. But the American republic will survive such theoretical folly. In the Republic of South Africa, however, this degradation of the democratic dogma, if applied, would bring anarchy and the collapse of civilization. As an American visitor remarked to an internationally-minded South African businessman, "In the United States, if racial integration succeeds, our problem is ended. In South Africa, if racial integration is accomplished, your civilization is ended."

Kirk

The "ritualistic liberal" of Britain or America thinks of the policy of South Africa's Nationalist government as "racialist." But at heart, the policy of "apartheid," or "separate development," is *not* concerned with dogmas about innate racial superiority and inferiority. The real question is prudential: how to govern tolerably a society composed of several races, among which only a minority is civilized. So far as the doctrine of "one man, one vote" is workable at all, it can be applied only to a society in which the great mass of men share one culture, are reasonably literate, enjoy comparative economic equality, and are separated by no profound distinctions. Such is America; but such is not South Africa.

To draw an analogy between the "color question" in America and the political difficulties of South Africa is misleading. In America, the Negroes, forming only a tenth of the population, were long ago assimilated to "white" culture, for the most part. In South Africa, the Bantu form more than two-thirds of the total population; and, far from being assimilated, in essence they remain tribal in social structure, African in culture. A more just analogy might be drawn between the Bantu and the American Indians—except that the Indians are a tiny minority of the American population.

In a time of virulent "African nationalism," which has destroyed freedom, or order, or both, in most of the emergent nations, how is South Africa's "European" population (many of whose ancestors lived in the land in the seventeenth century) to keep the peace and preserve a prosperity unique in the Dark Continent? The three South African political parties give different answers. But no sane South African politician advocates "one man, one vote."

Some Suggestions

The Nationalists would restrict direct political participation wholly to people of European descent—though establishing within the Republic autonomous native territories or states, in which the Bantu would govern themselves. As a concession to the civilized "Cape Coloreds," the dominant Nationalist government permits that large class—some 1,650,000 people—to be represented in parliament by five appointed white senators and four elected white members of the Assembly.

In opposition to the Nationalist plan for "separate development," the leaders of the United Party advocate a "multiracial society." (This emphatically does not imply "integration," in the American sense.) Though for the present, at least, the United Party would exclude the Indians and the Bantu from the franchise, the United leaders would place the Coloreds on the common voting roll and would allow Coloreds to sit in parliament—upon the assumption that the Coloreds are substantially European in culture, and feel community of interest with the Whites. Only a minority of the Coloreds would be permitted to vote, however, since educational and financial qualifications would disfranchise the average Colored citizen. The United Party opposes "apartheid," but now appears to incline favorably toward limited "Bantustans"—that is, self-governing native territories within the framework of the Republic.

The Progressive Party—represented in the present parliament by a single Assemblywoman—would enfranchise Bantu and Indians, and would let them sit in parliament; but again, requirements as to income and schooling would ensure that only a minority of these peoples actually would be entitled to vote.

Only the outlawed Communist Party of South Africa—and such Communist-dominated groups as the African National Congress—advocate indiscriminate, universal suffrage in South Africa. In practical effect, any real application of "one man, one vote" would mean that the South African Republic would be at the mercy of an overwhelming black political majority, without the least experience of political administration, and in culture poles apart from the "European" element that makes South Africa the only "modern" and prosperous African country.

Thus the demand of American and British Liberals for "democracy" in South Africa—not to mention the frantic outcries of the masters of the Arab and Negro countries of Africa—is quite impractical, unless they intend the destruction of South Africa's civilized community. In effect, Bantu political domination would be domination by witch-doctors (still numerous and powerful) and reckless demagogues.

In the long run, true, Bantu and Coloreds and Indians must feel that they have some political voice in the South African commonwealth, if the peace is to be kept. But this political safety-valve probably never can operate on the "one man, one vote" fallacy. In nearly all the rest of Africa, that illusion has speedily produced mastery by squalid oligarchs and, at best, one-party political systems.

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It Won't Go Away

WILLIAM A. RUSHER

Whatever else Barry Goldwater's nomination may have been, it most certainly was not the *divertissement* planned by America's regnant Liberals for the summer of 1964. That script called for the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller, to be followed by a taffy-pull between the rival candidates over how best to expand the welfare state and civilize the Russians. Instead, America's growing conservative movement knocked over the Louis Quinze vase, seized control of the Republican Party, fielded a candidate who called a spade (imagine!) a spade, and forced the Liberals to exert their full—and formidable—strength to persuade 3 out of every 5 American voters to ratify their dominance. The other 2 out of every 5 remain, to this day, unconvinced; and that disagreeable fact obviously Needs Explaining.

It gets it, more or less, in the two books under review. Of the two, Robert Donovan's *The Future of the Republican Party* should prove the greater favorite in Establishment circles. A colorless rewrite of a series of post-election articles by the Washington bureau chief of the *Los Angeles Times,* it consists of a random series of clichés grouped loosely around the proposition that the Republican Party needlessly alienated the Negro vote. To borrow an unbeatable phrase from Mary McCarthy, Mr. Donovan permits no fact to intrude into the sanctuary of the assertion. Perhaps, in his next book, he will tell us how the Negro vote can be recaptured from the Democrats. *That* will be worth buying. Meanwhile, save your money.

The Agony of the GOP 1964, by Robert D. Novak. Macmillan, $6.95

The Future of the Republican Party, by Robert J. Donovan. New American Library, $3.95

Robert Novak's volume is much meatier fare. As the stronger member of an unequally-yoked team of *New York Herald Tribune* columnists in Washington, Novak covered the race for the 1964 Republican nomination almost from its beginning; and now, drawing on his columns and some retrospective interviews, he has put it all down for posterity.

Novak is personally a Liberal, and here and there it shows; but usually he manages to rise above his prejudices. The result is a fact-filled, day-by-day, almost hour-by-hour account of the nomination battle, which historians of the future will rightly prize. Novak describes the early (and surprisingly successful) efforts of Nelson Rockefeller to woo Barry Goldwater over a series of breakfasts in Washington during 1961 and 1962; the quiet but enormously effective organizing work of F. Clifton White's anonymous Goldwater movement in 1962 and 1963; Rockefeller's sensational remarriage in May 1963; the triumph of the pro-Goldwater forces at the Young Republican convention in July of that year; Rockefeller's savage reaction, which split the party irrevocably; the premature "burial" of Goldwater after Kennedy's assassination; the jarring, spectacular primaries; William Scranton's agonized wobblings and his wife's decisive change of mind; and lastly the convention itself.

Novak's account is marred by various minor factual errors, and more seriously by certain major mistakes of judgment—most of the latter inherited from his own contemporary columns. He insists, for example, that Rockefeller was far ahead in the nomination sweepstakes right up until his remarriage, and adds that Goldwater "did not start turning his personal political corner" until after that justly famous event. The truth is that Rockefeller's remarriage simply provided a golden excuse for the party to reject a man it disliked anyway; it has never nominated a gung-ho Liberal and wasn't about to do so in 1964. Goldwater, moreover, had begun reconsidering his decision (against candidacy) as early as February 1963—three months before Rockefeller's remarriage—and by March was confiding to friends that he could carry previously untouchable states in the South.

Further on, in discussing the spring primaries of 1964, Novak works hard to make Goldwater's thoroughly respectable over-all showing look poor. (He asserts, for example, that Goldwater did "little better" than 60 per cent in Illinois, versus 25 per cent for Margaret Chase Smith—though it is hard to imagine how anyone but an abject trimmer could have done much better.) On the other hand, Novak properly quotes with satisfaction his own prescient column of April 9, 1964, in which—almost alone among major political reporters—he gave a realistic assessment of Goldwater's formidable delegate strength. His explanation of Goldwater's narrow but nonetheless impressive triumph in the crucial California primary is a little ragged, but he recovers his poise in time to give a fascinating account of the nomination campaign's final climax in the Cow Palace.

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Novak's tale ends at San Francisco, where the brilliant architects of the convention victory — most notably Clif White—were summarily replaced by a triumvirate of Denison Kitchel, Karl Hess and "the mysterious Bill Baroody." It is a pity that Novak stops where he does, for in his last page or two he rises above his preoccupation with the "how" of the 1964 convention race and touches, tantalizingly, on the "why." His conclusion is only briefly sketched, but it is profoundly significant: "Rockefeller and Scranton lost because they had nothing to offer the people but themselves. Goldwater had a moral philosophy that stirred enough people to the heights of enthusiasm so that the nomination was his."

That statement could serve as a paradigm of the dilemma of the Liberal Republicans (or "moderates," as they now cautiously prefer to call themselves). Privately convinced of the validity of the Liberal world-view, or at the very least resigned to its triumph, they find themselves confronting, with the Republican Party, a large body of opinion that squarely refutes the Liberal premises and seeks only to contest them. Hence the piteous protests of Rockefeller and his ilk that Goldwater and his supporters were "outside the mainstream of American life." So, in a sense, they were—and remain. But that is what politics is all about: the determination of precisely what shall *be* the mainstream. And America's Liberals, in both parties, are uneasily aware that something pretty yeasty is going on.

Two-fifths of the American nation did not vote for Barry Goldwater without stamping their imprint powerfully on the face of the land. You may be sure that no one is more aware of this than the shrewd and subtle politician who now resides in the White House. Better than most of his own sycophants, and quite possibly better than Nelson Rockefeller as well, he knows that conservatism, as a major force in American politics, is here to stay.

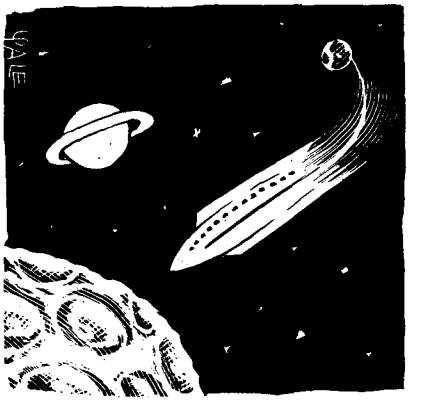
Science Fiction

Science and Fiction and Index

THEODORE STURGEON

THE FORM BOOK of one of the most successful magazines ever published advises its writers, concerning its readers: "Never underestimate their intelligence. Never overestimate their information." Walter Sullivan does not work for that magazine—he's science editor of the *New York Times*—but his book, which is subtitled *The Search for Intelligent Life on Other Worlds*, might well have been written with this rubric, illuminated, over his typewriter. When he handles a big subject he goes about it in a big way, and the reader who will be insulted by a discreet note to the effect that the exponent of x^3 means that x has been multiplied by itself three times, should summon forbearance. For when Mr. Sullivan gets into microbiology and DNA, stellar evolution from Lucretius to Hoyle, extra-terrestrial theology and formulae for the longevity of technically-oriented societies, one becomes grateful for his hand on one's elbow.

His approach, while never concealing his own conviction and enthusiasm, is to give the opposition full voice. And in terms of science and speculation, he has avoided the enthusiast's "I have the Truth, the only Truth" syndrome; his book is full of "We do not yet know . . ." and "No means has yet been found. . . ." So persuasive are his syntax and his logic, complete with 19 pages of references and an index, however, that one may never again look up at the night sky with quite the same acceptance. That there are other worlds, that many are inhabited, that ways can be found to prove these points and to contact the inhabitants, and



that we should do so—for all these assertions, the author makes a most provocative case. And for that area in which not nature, but man is the obstacle, Chapter 17 is required reading. It's called "Is There Intelligent Life on Earth?"

It is interesting indeed to see how many of Mr. Sullivan's fresh new far-out speculations appear in a science fiction novel of the "first contact" variety—and come out looking sort of old-hat. Mr. Dick, a skilled practitioner, gives us (again) the feeling of overall menace, the unexpected invasion method (this time through trade channels, plus the psyche), the commercially required seasoning of sex, and the triumph of the Good Guy.

IF WE SOUND querulous, it is because there is so much in the book to like, tainted by there being so much in the book. One of the most basic of all fictional rules is that of the 'single assumption'—what Fletcher Pratt meant when he used to say, "The reader is always ready and willing to believe one impossible thing." One feels assaulted when a man with precognitive ability is involved with interplanetary big business, the United Nations, the drug traffic, the aforesaid alien invasion, a smashed marriage, two new romances, and Kosmos knows what other full-fledged book-length assumptions, all at once and without enough of any, really, to allow the reader to help the protagonist through his difficulties. One is reminded of a remark in the *Ency-*

We Are Not Alone, by Walter Sullivan. McGraw-Hill, $6.95

The Three Stigmata of Palmer Eldritch. by Philip K. Dick. Doubleday, $4.95

A Checklist of Science Fiction Anthologies, by Walter R. Cole. Cole, Brooklyn N.Y., $7.50

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clopedia Britannica's 11th Edition article on the U.S. Constitution: "Had the framers of this document attempted to do more, they should have done far less." Mr. Dick, who has written wonderfully structured novels, and has thereby documented that he knows better, has here done more —and now look. We do proclaim, however, that no one this year, or most years, is going to produce a better title.

There are all kinds of love in these many worlds, but not many exceed in intensity Walt Cole's devotion to science fiction. May lesser worshippers be grateful: Mr. Cole's *magnum opus* has long been awaited by the completist, the addict, and the mere enjoyer of sf. "Who wrote that story about the—" and "Wasn't there a Heinlein yarn in that book of Conklin's?" and a thousand other questions of the sort are answered in this big (11¼" by 8½", 380-page) index of science fiction anthologies. It does not, and Mr. Cole did not intend to, list the stories in individual collections; it lists over 200 anthologies, and more than 2700 stories, tracing each from its original publication and through its various editions. In addition to being cross referenced, it has an alphabetical index of authors, as well as of individual stories. If your bookstore cannot as yet supply it, try 1171 E. 8th St., Brooklyn 30, New York.

'Eppur si Muove!'

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

THE TITLE is Galileo's, the exasperation anyone's who keeps adding two plus two in an age when the authorities say the sum is five.

The U.S. Economy, by John Davenport. Regnery, $5.00

Soon it will be two centuries since Adam Smith stated the main principles of political economy; he was not wrong, and he has not been alone. Mill followed, as best he could; a grand English school developed. On the Continent the early springheads were Bastiat and Menger. Unfortunately the United States lived its freedom before it began to think about it systematically. Nevertheless the seed of Smith lives in his great-grandchildren of our epoch: Einaudi, Rueff, Roepke, Erhard, A. J. Brown, Colin Clark, Hutt, and the sturdy Austrian line from Menger to Boehm-Bawerk to Mises to Hayek to . . . well, Chicago, New York, Grove City: Friedman, Stigler, Hazlitt, Fertig, Kirzner, Sennholz, Machlup, Rogers. If there ever was an "American school," it started rather late, with Sumner, and has by now become fused in the great tradition. But two plus two, say our masters, makes five. And so the great tradition is reduced to begging for an audience in the streets of its home town.

Thinking of these things—the careful development of economic theory during two centuries by men of sound mind, and the now overpowering weight of historical corroboration —one cannot escape a sense of frustration and exasperation that it should still be necessary for such men as John Davenport to write about the U.S. economy, even while one admires the skill and clarity of his work.

If I catch his tone aright, Mr. Davenport has set himself the task of describing the miracle of the United States market economy as an example of the achievements that can be expected of market economies in general; blocking out the governmental and social foundations on which a market economy must stand; analyzing the pathology of governmental intervention; and doing it all in a form of direct speech that may just have a chance to penetrate to the tympana of a college senior whose ears have been waxed up, these many years, with Keynesian ooze.

He succeeds—assuming that college seniors can still read good English—and particularly in the body of his book, where he takes up the specific questions of agriculture, wages, welfarism, and monetary policy. An example of his manner, and a piece of information that may be useful to readers of this review, occurs in the chapter on agriculture, where Mr. Davenport reports the largest crops of 1962, ranked according to their cash value:

Meat animals (largely hogs and cattle)	$11.8 billion
Dairy products	4.8 billion
Poultry, eggs	3.1 billion
Cotton (lint and seed)	2.6 billion
Wheat	2.1 billion
Vegetables	1.9 billion
Corn	1.8 billion
Fruits and nuts	1.6 billion
Soya beans	1.5 billion
Tobacco	1.3 billion

And then he proceeds: "The breakdown is interesting in more ways than one. At least two of the so-called 'basic' crops, peanuts and rice, do not even rank among major money crops. On the other hand vegetables and fruits, which enjoy little or no support, are flourishing; and the truck farmer, while not always the happy warrior, is perhaps the best answer to those who argue that if the government withholds aid the whole farm economy will collapse."

Davenport's flair for the succinct example pops up again when he has to make the distinction between spontaneous and coerced automation. He cites Henry Ford's innovations and their prosperous aftermath as a lesson in technology at work for the good of all. But then: "After World War II there were some 425,000 men employed in the soft coal industry. Thereafter, under union pressure, wages were pushed up rapidly with no great gain in productivity, while at the same time the industry was subjected to rising competition from oil and natural gas. Caught in a squeeze between prices and rising costs, operators turned dramatically to mechanization of the mines, substituting machines for men, and by 1961 employment had been reduced to 137,000—with higher wages for those who had work, but poverty and disaster threatening those thrown out of jobs." Class dismissed.

MR. DAVENPORT'S TREATMENT of monetary problems would deserve some critical comment here if he had not

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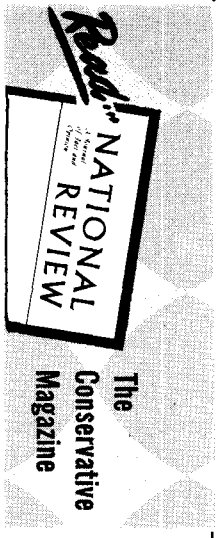

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already specified in his introduction that he is less than fully satisfied with that part of his discourse. But even if he were happy in that seeming dereliction, he remains on the side of the angels if only for the courage he displays, as a top editor of *Fortune,* in giving voice to his belief in the eventual good that will flow from abolishing the tariff system in international trade.

I take it back about the college senior. This book can have a wider audience. It should be read by professional economists as a model of English composition in an almost un-Englishable field; by liberal-arts gentry who think economics is "above" them; by businessmen who think it is beneath them; by lecturers in need of handy arguments.

And it should be memorized by demagogues who think "government" can get the economy "moving again." The answer to that folly is, you may have guessed, Galileo's, though in a new context: thanks very much, but *it moves by itself.*

The Classic Ballet

Invitation to the Dance

FRANCIS RUSSELL

AN AMERICAN PREMIERE of sorts of *The Sleeping Beauty* took place in 1916 when Anna Pavlova and her troupe presented excerpts from that ballet at New York's Hippodrome. It must have been quite a presentation. The Hippodrome Ballet Girls formed the *corps de ballet.* Apparently the Hippodrome management believed in giving the public its money's worth, for Pavlova and the other ballerinas were sandwiched in between a dancing skeleton, a grand minstrel show, an ice pageant, the Six Musical Browns and the Peerless Charlotte. Even at that, the public was disappointed, and in subsequent performances Pavlova was obliged to interpolate her *Dying Swan.*

BALLET IN THIS country did, however, achieve a sophistication above the level of vaudeville that same year with the first tour of Diaghilev and his Ballets Russes. Americans at last were seeing Nijinsky in *The Afternoon of a Faun* and his tremendous leap in *The Spectre of the Rose,* and the Corot enchantment of Fokine's *Les Sylphides.* Then, after the war to end wars, American interest in the ballet vanished, as if that precise and elaborated art form were somehow linked with the years everyone was trying to forget. To intellectuals the ballet was decadence divorced from social reality, a Faubergé symbol of the reactionary Russia of the czars. Casual America had moved on from Diaghilev and Nijinsky to Ziegfeld and a black-face Al Jolson singing "Mammy." For the non-intellectuals the world of the dance could be thumped out by the varsity drag, the kinkajou and the black bottom.

Not until the depression years did the ballet return in the Diaghilev tradition with the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and Colonel W. de Basil's rival company. I saw both companies at the old Boston Opera House on Huntington Avenue, leveled a few years ago in the interests of urban renewal. Built in 1909 and financed by the department store Maecenas Eben S. Jordan, the Opera House's interior was Edwardian in décor, a red plush and gilt cavern. Moths had got into the plush and the gilt was flaking by the time I watched the Russian ballets from the second balcony. Looking back thirty years I cannot remember which ballets were performed by the Monte Carlo and which by Colonel de Basil's company. But I do remember my first encounter with the ballet as one of those experiences after which, one feels,

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COLLEGE CLASS IN THE YEAR 10,000 AD

"Students: I have an interesting object lesson for you today. This book was recently dug up out of the glacier which now occupies the site of ancient New York City. Never mind the book's name, which has no importance now except to archeologists. What I want to call to your attention is that on the cover (amazingly preserved by the ice-blanket) are these bold words: '*This is an immortal art work, timeless in its meaning, which will delight mankind for all ages to eternity.*' Now don't laugh; just let it be a warning to you never to say anything so silly yourself."

[Don't brush this off as mere fantasy. It is more within the range of possibility than *Hamlet's* possessing any emotional significance a hundred centuries from now.]

Millions of Years are as Nothing to these Critics

"and the spontaneous delight that everyone feels before the Parthenon sculptures will last as long as the human race rejoices in the name of man."

"Everyone knows the first sentence of Moby Dick ('Call me Ishmael'). It is one of the grand openings in fiction, dramatic, evocative, portentous. The three words, like the first four notes of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, cannot be reduced to banality by repetition; they still reverberate."

"Language greatly used has all the sanction of a sacrament: the race is as incapable of forgetting a great poem as it is of losing its last wish under the stars."

"No words that man can any more set side by side can ever affect the mind again like some of the great passages of Homer."

"The highest point that poetry has ever reached or ever can reach," said of an excerpt from Dante.

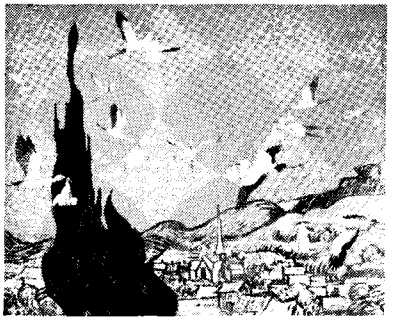
"No musician ever outgrows Mozart's music. The more one knows Mozart, the greater the magic one discovers, the deeper the subtleties, the profounder the artistic insight..."

"Keats' *Ode to a Nightingale* is one of the final masterpieces... in all time and for all ages."

If you find it hard to believe that sane men can enunciate these absurdities (all by famous critics; names on request) it's only that they have inherited the malpractice from previous generations, and don't know how to get out of it.

Many of the critics are quite aware, for instance, that the "Parthenon Sculptures" have been a bore for a hundred years, now; hardly deserving so much as a side-glance for the thimbleful of "spontaneous delight" derivable from them. They can't say so, however, for fear of destroying their own prestige and authority. Don't let yourself become callous to nonsensicalities such as these. Until you express your resentment you'll get no relief.

This does not mean that you deny that experts may know more about art than you do. It means that you deny them the right to use that knowledge to brainwash you instead of to instruct you.



The Stork Cartoon

It's the accident of what men possessing what talents arrive on earth, in what quantities and at what times, that usually decides which art works are considered "great," and not the qualities in the art works themselves. A sudden surge of "Type A" men, all possessing a special skill in creating (or in understanding) Type A art, will soon reduce that type of art to mediocrity no matter how superior it had previously been considered.

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as you've long been aware (at least subconsciously) no matter how insistently old-fashioned critics go on telling you it is. Too many unexpected things can happen in this world for anybody to see that far ahead. Don't let them bluff you any more.

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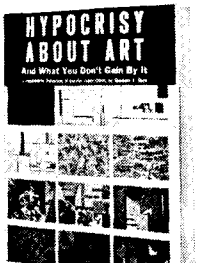
The Gag about Art Being Immortal

Although the two pamphlets are valuable in themselves, they can serve only as introduction to so far-reaching a subject. For further reading (on the same free-trial terms) we suggest the two conjecturist books mentioned below.

Authoritative Opinions

"HYPOCRISY ABOUT ART lets a lot of fresh air into the subject of art criticism — the nit wit babble of the avant garde has no relevance nor importance in understanding art and the book does a good job of deflating some of the pompous nonsense." George B. Keester. Chairman Fine Arts Dept., West Virginia Wesleyan College.

"Shaw has taken off the lid and exposed the aesthetic and critical overalls in the stew of beauty. Painter, art gallery director, and aesthetician for many years, Shaw has shown many opinions and their underlying presuppositions to lie in a Limpopo greasiness. At the heart of Shaw's theory of aesthetic judgment is his Theory of Boredom. Here he gives us a positive boost in 'Estimating Speeds of Tiring.' His chapter entitled 'The Metropolitan Museum Lays an Egg' is far too delicious to miss. A warning to aestheticians is that they may not like everything they read in Shaw, but certainly there is much to appeal to any catholic taste. This was a long overdue cleaning of the fat, self-congratulatory, aesthetic stables." Prof. Dale Riepe, C. W. Post College, in Philosophy & Phenom. Research.



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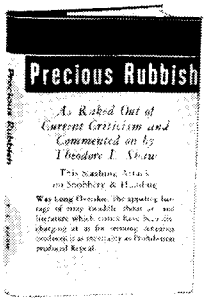
"Enjoyable — a much needed frontal attack." Dr. Lyle N. Perkins. Head Ceramics Dept., Rhode Island School of Design.

"Expresses to a T my every thought. I think it's great." — Nicola Ziroli, Artist in Res., Univ. of Ill.

"Seems to me to be a much-needed call to arms. Our regnant school of criticism is not merely misled but downright dishonest, in my opinion." — Rev. Louis F. Doyle, S.J., St. Louis Univ.

"I loved it — gave three critics one copy each — they loved it. Lost is he who hath no humor." — Dr. Wm. K. Keller, Prof. of Psychiatry. Univ. of Louisville.



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one's life will never be quite the same. Among other things it completed my alienation from the city that was my birthplace but not my heritage.

The first ballet I saw was *Petrouchka,* that Hamlet of ballets. And on the same program was *Schéhérazade* with Bakst scenery and costumes, exciting enough then, even though since dumped, music and all, into the ballet dustbin. On a winter afternoon I remember the whiteness of *Les Sylphides.* To me then, even as now, seeing a ballet was an emotional giving out of oneself, not an intellectual or pseudo-intellectual exercise in technical terms. And of course what young man could help but be in love with Tamara Toumanova or Mia Slavenska?

Those Russian companies performed only the second act of *Swan Lake,* and I always wanted to see the whole four acts. Finally, when I was living in London in 1952 I saw the Sadler's Wells Company's great revival of the ballet in Covent Garden's renovated Royal Opera House. That house was all gilt and red plush too, urbane and aloof, no doubt what poor Eben Jordan had in mind for his provincial city when he built his Huntington Avenue cavern. Not for another dozen years, until 1964, would I again see the complete *Swan Lake,* this time in Boston, this time performed by the Leningrad Kirov Company.

I drove in to Boston from my suburb on a rainy December night, thinking of those ballets of a generation ago in the demolished Opera House, of the long-vanished Tamara Toumanova and Mia Slavenska who were no doubt by this time (I hated to think of it) middle-aged housewives. The site of the Opera House was now a parking lot for North-Eastern, the old YMCA college that since World War II has become a mega-university. Farther on I found Copley Square turned into a kind of obstacle course at the unfinished termination of the late Commissioner Callahan's $170 million, twelve-mile extension of the Massachusetts Turnpike. Urban renewal's millions, astutely pipe-lined from Washington to Boston, had already given much of the city the look of 1944 bombed London—oddly, the only time Boston ever did get to resemble the city it wished it resembled.

The current ballet was being staged in the Metropolitan Theater, renamed the Music Hall. The Metropolitan had been built in the twenties as a picture house modeled after the Roxy Theater in New York and in the same billowing Roxy-rococo style. When I was at Latin School we occasionally skipped off for the day to get to the box office before eleven o'clock when the price rose. I can't remember a single film I saw there, dwarfed as such memories are by the "mighty Wurlitzer," the organ that rose from some depths below stage as out of a magician's giant hat. The hard lemon-yellow of the spot light dwarfed the organist with his multiple keyboards as he orchestrated "Always" or "Blue Skies" or "Just a Cottage Small by a Waterfall." That organ could sound like a symphony, laugh, cry, belch, ring sleigh and church bells, and play musical jokes. It alone was worth the price of admission. If there isn't one in the Museum of Modern Art now, there should be.

Random Notes

● Books: For June, from Barnes-Yoseloff, Peter Cowie's *The Films of Orson Welles,* with 32 pages of stills and abridged scripts of *Citizen Kane* and *The Magnificent Ambersons* ($1.95). . . . Braziller is publishing Sartre's new book, *Situations* ($6). . . . *Happenings,* an illustrated anthology of those mad, accident-like but calculated high jinks of Claes Oldenburg, Jim Dine, Red Grooms, Allan Kaprow, and Robert Whitman, has been compiled by Michael Kirby and has eighty photographs and sample scripts (Dutton, $6.95). . . . Also from Dutton, a reissue of the master Algernon Blackwood, *Tales of Terror and the Unknown* ($1.75, paperback). . . . Günter Grass' new novel, *Dog Years,* will be published by Harcourt in May ($6.95). . . . Edward Crankshaw, Russian correspondent for the *London Observer,* has dropped his biography of Maria Theresa of Austria to take up a commission from Viking Press to write a biography of the erased N. S. Khrushchev, for publication later this year.

● The Movies: Walt Disney, after years of depriving the Republic, returns to animated features with a *Winnie the Pooh* (under the direction of Wolfgang Reitherman) and a *Jungle Book.* . . . Tony Richardson, who gave us *Tom Jones,* has just ordered, for a large fortune, a script from Jean Genet, to be called *Mademoiselle.* . . . Marilyn Monroe's collection of Max Reinhardt's prompt books, diaries, and other papers, which Miss Monroe bought at an auction a decade ago, has been given to the Chaim Weizmann Institute in Israel. . . . the Catholic Legion of Decency has assigned *Zorba the Greek* an A-IV rating (morally unobjectionable for adults, with reservations), noting that "this serious study of a 'natural man' possessed of immense vitality and exuberance expounds a philosophy which falls short of a Christian view of life. For this reason, and also because of frequent coarseness in treatment, the film requires mature analysis". . . . *Variety,* throwing up its hands, imagines a movie starring the improbable Jack Smith and directed by the inevitable Andy Warhol, running time 185 minutes. "An unidentified zero who, on walking out of a midtown Manhattan office building, suddenly stops short as if remembering something important. At that moment the picture freezes, and for the next three hours and four minutes the inventive Warhol camera searches the still picture for possible meanings."

● Hochkultur: The FBI has decided to improve its image and has authorized a TV serial about itself, to begin in September, smack at "Wagon Train" time. . . . Dr. Charles Ramsay, sociologist, explains that teenagers gave up the twist because old people (*id est,* twenty years old) took it up and spoiled it all. . . . and *Time* now thinks that Goethe said "architecture is frozen music." (Friedrich von Schelling, *Time,* Friedrich von Schelling).

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Unfortunately, what suited the silent films and the mighty Wurlitzer, does not adapt to the opera and ballet, and the occasional stage performances now given at the Music Hall are a barren makeshift. Not only the acoustics—and they are bad indeed—but the Roxy residues are wrong. The Leningrad Kirov Ballet, for all its revolutionary name, is of course the old Imperial Ballet and is superb in its tradition. Yet, for me at least, the old enchantment could not take hold in that made-over picture palace.

In the autumn of 1962 the Leningrad Ballet had seemed much more enchanting when I saw the complete *Sleeping Beauty* at the Neues Theater in East Berlin, although that was in part because of the incidental circumstances. When I met Karin in the lobby of the Neues Theater, she was dressed her ersatz best, as were the other young people there, and looked charming in spite of her shoddy clothes. As for the ballet, the directors must have brought all their complicated scenery from Russia. I had the feeling when the curtain went up that it must have looked just like that when Marius Petipa staged the first performance for Alexander III at the Maryinsky Theater in 1890.

The fairy tale unfolded, the music flowed about us, I the stranger and Karin the prisoner of her native city. Long as the *Sleeping Beauty* was, it was not long enough—*Briar Rose (Dornröschen)* they called it in German. Anyone can, of course, describe that most familiar of ballets, but through it, through eye and ear, somehow Karin and I both transcended our individual cities, Boston and Berlin.

The Modern Dance

Repertory Dance Theater

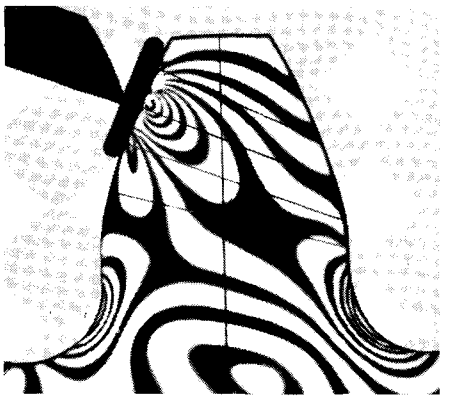
ERNESTINE STODELLE

THE OPENING of the new American Dance Theater at the sumptuous New York State Theater in Lincoln Center achieved what hitherto had seemed impossible: the founding of a repertory company capable of handling the various individualistic styles of America's foremost modern dance choreographers. For its initial performances, it presented works by choreographers Donald McKayle, Doris Humphrey, Anna Sokolow and José Limon, whose compositions demanded technical proficiency on the part of the company without straining their interpretive skills. The newly formed ensemble of thirty-four excellent dancers, including some brilliant soloists, carried off their assignments with precision and élan, but the real stars of the show were the choreographers with their personal approaches to the art of movement.

Of the four works presented the most impressive were Anna Sokolow's *The Question,* choreographed to chamber music by Anton Webern, and José Limon's *A Choreographic Offering* set to J. S. Bach's *A Musical Offering.* Both ballets were monumental in form and concept: the first, handling a psychological idea in terms of massed body groups which were, on the whole, confined to specific areas on the stage; the second, releasing sweeping passages of lyric movement in elaborately changing patterns across the entire enormous stage of the New York State Theater.

What *The Question* was, and how it was answered, if at all, remained enigmatic but quite unimportant. What really mattered was that under Anna Sokolow's imaginative direction, new forms with tantalizing meanings emerged to change the spectator's conventional ideas about the human figure as a single expressive unit. There were sculpturally grouped masses of bodies acting like one seething form; there were weird *pas de deux* (girls sitting on men's shoulders limply like rag dolls) and wave-like progressions of groups, out of which individual dancers would attempt vainly to rise and withdraw. This is experimental choreography of a high order.

The Limon work, which took its thematic material from movement motifs of fourteen of Doris Humphrey's dances, dealt with form in a purely architectural context but its effect on the audience was just as



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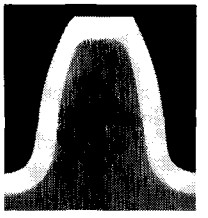

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exciting as *The Question*. Solos were juxtaposed against quartets, quintets, even against a group of nine, and then, suddenly, the stage was captured by a *corps de ballet* of twenty-two in a grand display of baroque designs matching in scale the sonorities and rhythmic complexities of the Bach score. Richly inventive, the movement was always a delight to watch, whether performed by Mr. Limon, Betty Jones, Sally Stackhouse and Louis Falco, the soloists, or the well-trained ensemble.

Donald McKayle (currently choreographer for Broadway's *Golden Boy*) was represented by a brisk jazzified opening dance entitled *Workout*, replete with high leaps, multiple turns and fast-stepping duets. In contrast, Doris Humphrey's *Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejias* to Norman Lloyd's musical score eschewed all virtuoso tricks, setting its sights towards the perfect fusion of dance, drama, music and the spoken word. It achieved this with distinction and beauty, in measure attributable to Louis Falco's remarkable dancing in the solo part.

If the modern dance is generally considered "unpopular," as José Limon, artistic director of the project, asserted in the program notes, presentations of the caliber offered by the American Dance Theater will serve to popularize this art, which is as many-faceted in its expression as the contemporary American scene.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

GIDEON'S TRUMPET, by Anthony Lewis (Random House, $4.95). Mr. Lewis is the *New York Times'* specialist on the Supreme Court, and as accomplished a reporter as there is in Washington. He is also a friend of the Court and may one day be moved to write the definitive apologia for the Warren Revolution. This book is not quite it, although it is a good deal more than a newsman's account of Mr. Gideon's successful struggle to compel the State of Florida to furnish him a lawyer to defend a burglary charge —thus establishing an indigent's claim to free counsel in state criminal proceedings as our newest Constitutional Right. On Lewis' canvas the case of *Gideon v. Wainright* is a microcosmic demonstration of how justice is done in

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an era when all of society's ills are the proper business of the Supreme Court. In some respects it is an apt illustration: the underlying issue was whether Florida and four other states should be forcibly reconciled, before another day had passed, to the Enlightened Opinion that a fair trial is impossible without counsel; or should be allowed to embrace it in their own good time—and in the process preserve a States' Right from judicial nationalization. Needless to say, Enlightenment Now won hands down, nine justices to none. Granted, the Court was in somewhat of a box, thanks to an earlier holding that encouraged federal meddling in state right-to-counsel cases, which in turn was an outgrowth of its justified intervention thirty years ago in the Scottsboro Case. But if the Court had really wanted out of the box, it could have turned the clock back to Scottsboro, which was probably a faithful attempt to apply the concept of "the process" held by the Fourteenth Amendment's framers. It may seem callous to ask a *Timesman*—let alone the present Court—to take the Constitution all *that* seriously. But as the Park Avenue matron told the beggar who complained he hadn't eaten for five days, "My good man, you must force yourself."

L. B. BOZELL

THE WORLD OF THE RACCOON, by Leonard Lee Rue III (Lippincott, $4.95). To my mind the raccoon and the chipmunk are the most engaging of the familiar creatures of our woods and fields, and their appeal for human beings stems, I think, largely from two traits they share in common—insatiable curiosity and the distinctive, almost humorous markings of their fur. Besides giving an account of the known facts about the raccoon and his habits at the different seasons, Mr. Rue includes legend, lore, and actual stories of his relationships with man. Any predisposition in favor of the raccoon (despite his racket with garbage cans and havoc-making proclivities with sweet corn) is strongly reinforced by learning something of his highly intelligent and versatile make-up. The photographs are excellent.

E. MERRITT

ALLIANCE

(Continued from p. 190)

countries that do not produce a plan of some kind.

The Alliance has failed to meet every single target it set for itself back in 1961. In the process it may have done irreparable harm to the economies of many of the countries it touched. The planners that ran it, and run it, just do not understand that you cannot achieve a sound economy unless the people that have to live under it believe it.

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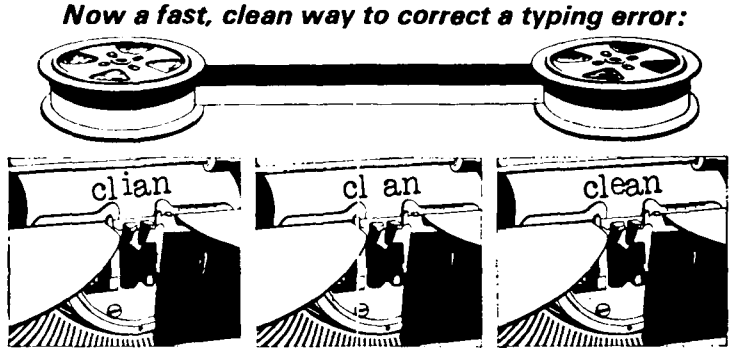

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 174)

people who have done things admission of which would incriminate them have, as a result, greater freedom from interrogation than "the law-abiding" who cannot, or do not choose to, invoke the privilege against self-incrimination. With the usual obstinacy of unsuccessful counsel, I believe that the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit was unduly narrow in its application of the Fourth Amendment, but I cannot accept the implication of the editorial that the Court was inconsistent in not showing Mr. Rickenbacker the same tolerance that the Senate Rules Committee pursuant to a long line of Supreme Court decisions showed Bobby Baker under the Fifth Amendment.

Incidentally, the title of the case was *United States* v. *Rickenbacker*, not *The People* v. *Rickenbacker*. Judge Sterry R. Waterman presided, not Judge Thurgood Marshall.

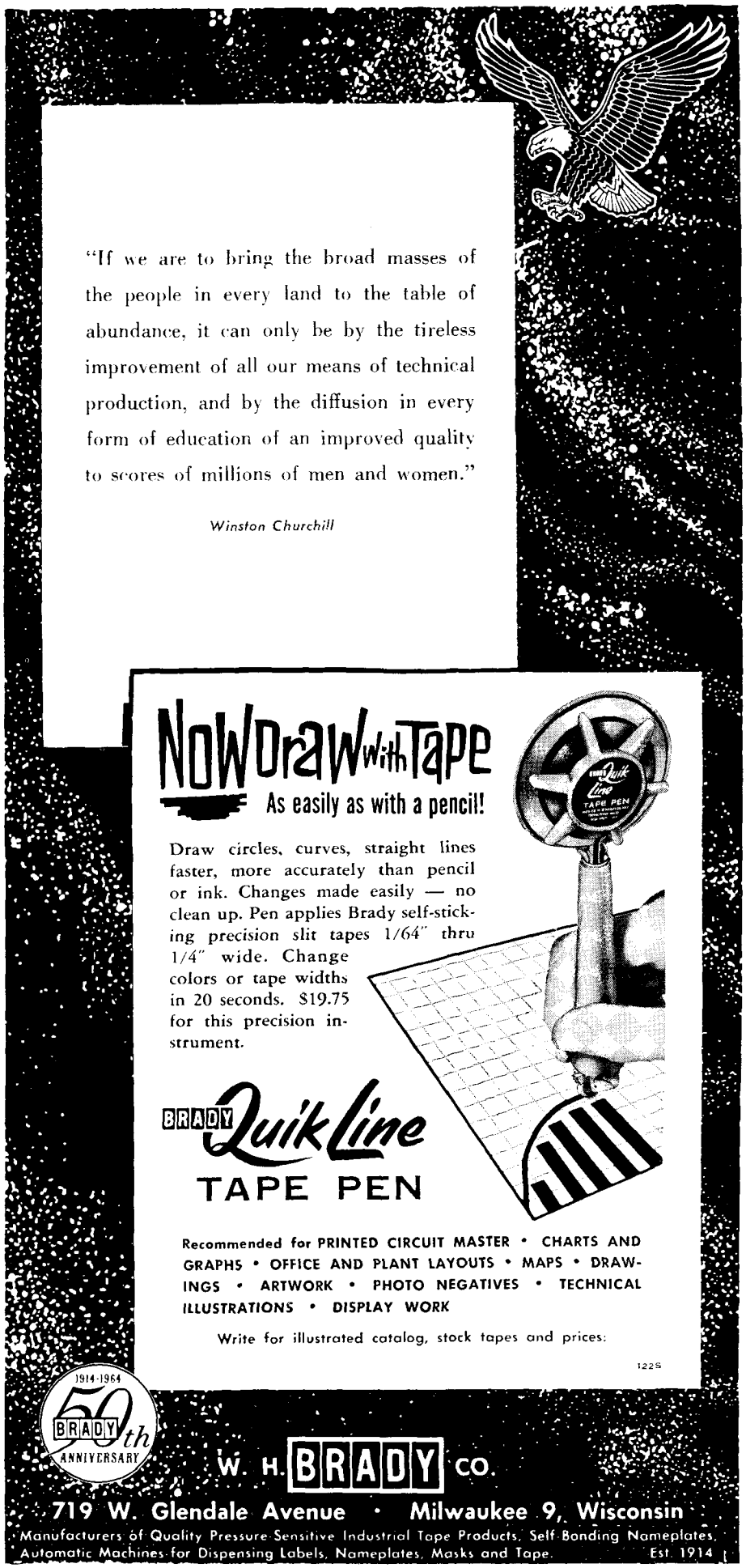
New York, N.Y. C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

Objection sustained. —ED.

Churchill

How ungracious, and therefore uncharacteristic, of Mr. Buckley to cavil at Sir Winston Churchill in the February 23 issue. It is, to begin with, a little sticky to maintain that a great man really should have been "greater." But more to the point, it seems to me unjust and historically untrue to speak of Sir Winston as "almost omnipotent" at the time of Yalta and Teheran, or of his "turning over the leadership of the world to the faltering hands of Americans" at a later point. The realities of power at either of these junctures must have been clear to Churchill; with a shattered and weakened Britain in prospect at war's end, he could hardly impose his will on his powerful partner and mainstay. Not even Churchill's matchless rhetoric could alter the wayward vision of Franklin Roosevelt, and leadership was "turned over" by necessity, not choice.

The Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, Missouri, did startle the West out of its day dream; but reactions of dismay and resentment at the rude awakening soon followed, with the appropriate strategies to avoid the unpleasant reality. He had sounded the alarm once again; it is doubtful he could have done more. He would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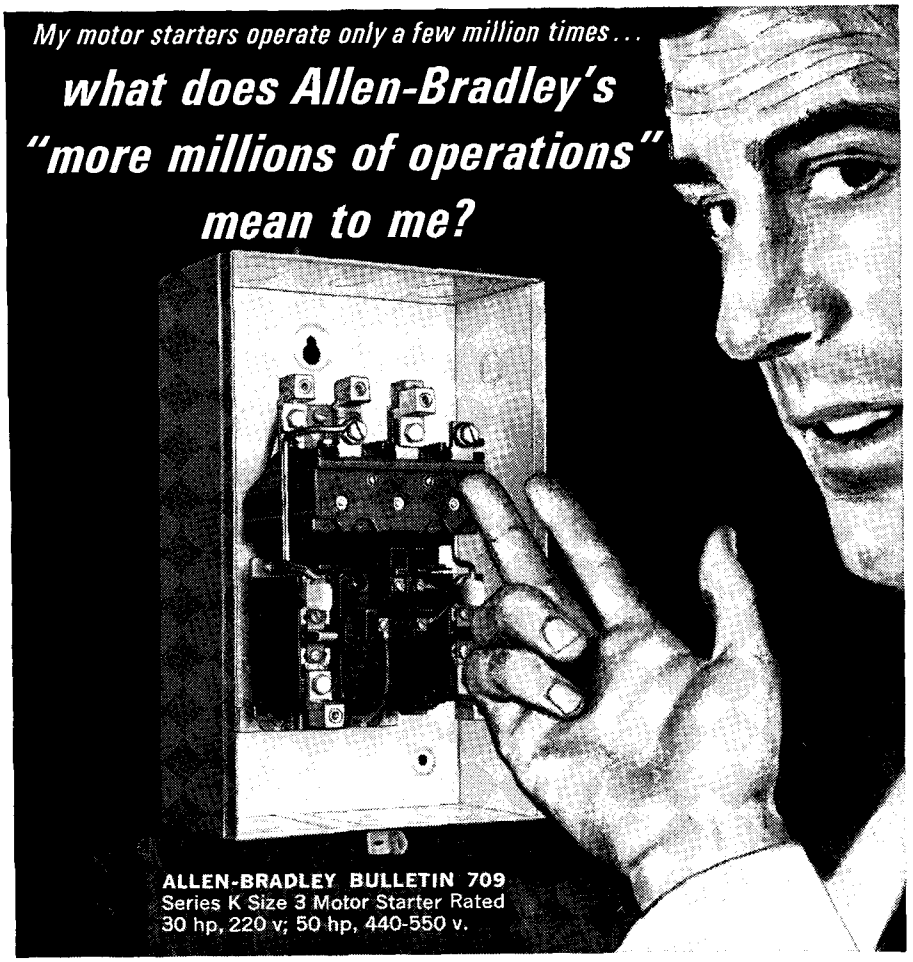
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■ Well—let's look at it this way. You are most interested in the uninterrupted operation of the machine controlled by the starter. Now then, since the simplicity and rugged construction of Allen-Bradley Series K starters provide a proven life of many millions of operations, it stands to reason that, at only one million operations, life has just begun for this starter.

Let's use the same example with some other starter, good for only two or three million operations. At the one million mark, ½ or ⅓ of the life of this starter is gone—and if you have not already experienced trouble, you won't have long to wait.

In other words, you *do* obtain extra value from the dollar you invest in Allen-Bradley Series K starters—with all ratings (sizes) having extra millions of trouble free operations *built in!* And—when you have a really tough job, this same built-in life of the Series K line of motor control is your assurance that no other starter can equal the trouble free performance of Allen-Bradley.

Your nearest Allen-Bradley distributor—appointed with care and educated in the proper application of motor control—carries on hand for your benefit a large assortment of types and sizes of Allen-Bradley Series K control—and, in the variety of enclosures that assure trouble free and continuous operation, no matter what your amospheric conditions may be. Please let this distributor serve you. Or write for Publication 6110.

Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 South Third Street, Milwaukee, Wis. 53204. In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ontario. Export Office: 630 Third Ave., New York, New York, U.S.A. 10017.

A-B QUALITY

ALLEN-BRADLEY

Member of NEMA

QUALITY MOTOR CONTROL

have been dismissed as "irrelevant to the twentieth century and the new complexities." I honor our only "honorary citizen" without stint; we failed him, not the other way around.

Woodstock, N.Y. ELSIE MEYER

Colm Brogan's "Churchill: A Profile in Greatness" in your February 9 issue was certainly faint praise of one of the great figures of our age. It did not endear me to your magazine.

Weston, Mass. FRANCES P. HUNT

I have read many eulogies of Churchill but none, I think, more perceptive than Mr. Colm Brogan's [Feb. 9]. He says what ought to be said—no more and no less. Churchill's career, his failures and his successes, was never better summarized. Thank you, Mr. Brogan, for serving us neither pap nor muggeridge.

Austin, Tex. J. R. SCHUH

Xerox and the UN

The statement in "The Week" column of your issue of February 9 to the effect that "Xerox has cancelled the rest of its TV programs on the United Nations" is false and misleading. Rather than cancelling them, we are proceeding full speed ahead with their production . . . Because the final three programs will be filmed on remote foreign locations, their production will consume more time than originally planned.

DONALD L. CLARK
Vice President, Corporate Advertising
New York, N.Y. Xerox Corporation

Mr. Clark must mean "all deliberate speed." —ED.

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (February 23)

William H. Harrison

INAUGURAL

It was the remark of a Roman consul . . . that a most striking contrast was observable in the conduct of candidates for offices of power and trust before and after obtaining them, they seldom carrying out in the latter case the pledges and promises made in the former.

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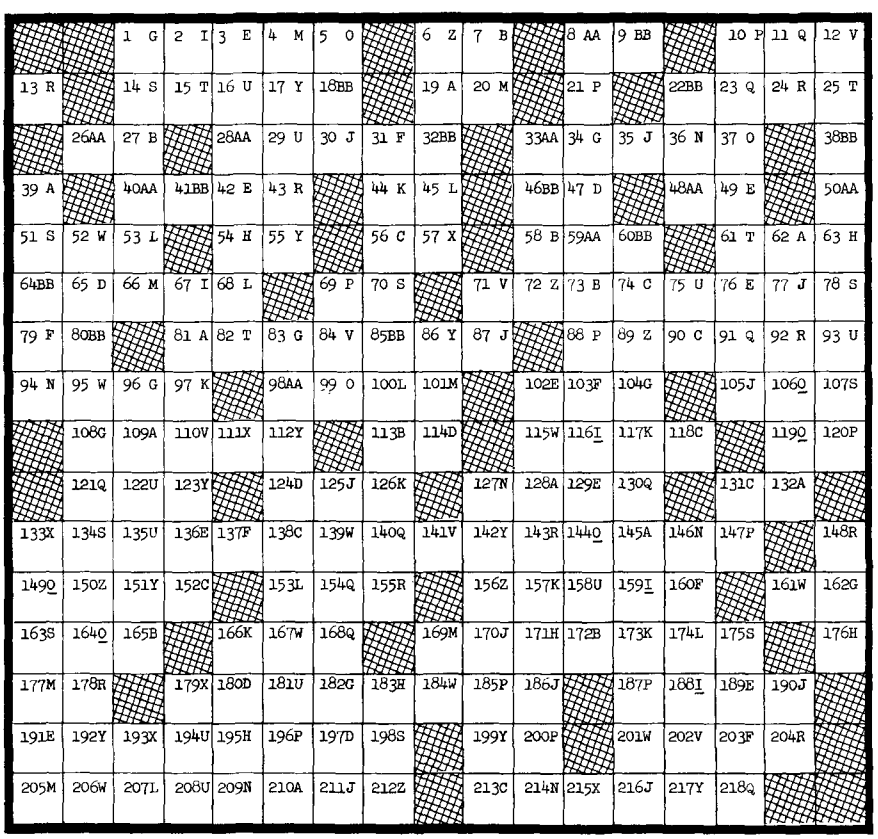
TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Malaysian plant named for its discoverer.	109 210 81 132 62 128 39 145 19
B. An electrical term named for a Danish physicist.	113 165 27 7 58 172 73
C. Active principle of tobacco, named for a Frenchman.	118 138 213 131 56 74 90 152
D. Practical unit of intensity of electric current, named for a Frenchman.	124 65 47 180 114 197
E. Pendent ornament, perhaps named for a Frenchwoman.	42 129 189 136 102 76 3 49 191
F. Flower named for a Swedish botanist.	160 79 31 137 203 103
G. Daughter of three-time presidential nominee (2 wds.).	162 182 1 34 108 104 83 96
H. City in East Germany.	171 195 176 54 183 63
I. City in New Zealand (South Island).	188 67 2 116 159
J. Unfair division of election districts, named for Mass. governor.	30 190 170 211 186 87 105 125 77 35 216
K. English composer (1765-1838) and English pol. reformer (1783-1856).	44 97 126 117 157 166 173
L. City in Montgomery, Wales.	53 68 153 100 174 207 45
M. City in Kent, England.	66 20 101 169 177 4 205
N. Casts of dice.	94 127 36 214 209 146
O. At the finish (3 wds.).	99 106 119 149 5 37 144 164
P. Waterproof outer garment, named for its inventor.	147 21 88 196 69 200 185 120 10 187
Q. One of the four rivers that went out of Eden.	218 11 130 154 168 140 121 23 91
R. Shrubs named for a British botanist.	24 155 178 204 43 148 13 92 143
S. Gambling game at which it's hard to break even (3 wds.).	51 107 198 175 163 70 134 78 14
T. Widow who uttered one of most beautiful speeches in Bible.	82 61 25 15
U. Misguided patriot; term derived from French soldier's name.	181 122 194 158 75 16 208 29 93 135
V. Cab with entrance at rear, named for its inventor.	202 84 141 110 71 12
W. Surpassed in ingenuity.	206 167 139 52 184 161 201 95 115
X. Blunt.	57 193 133 215 179 111
Y. Accidental transposition of sounds, named for English clergyman.	151 55 86 199 17 123 112 142 217 192
Z. Town in Lyon County, Iowa.	6 72 156 89 150 212
AA. City in Worth County, Iowa.	8 26 28 33 59 98 40 48 50
BB. Beheaded by a machine named for a French physician.	18 46 64 22 80 9 32 38 41 60 85

See page 210 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.



DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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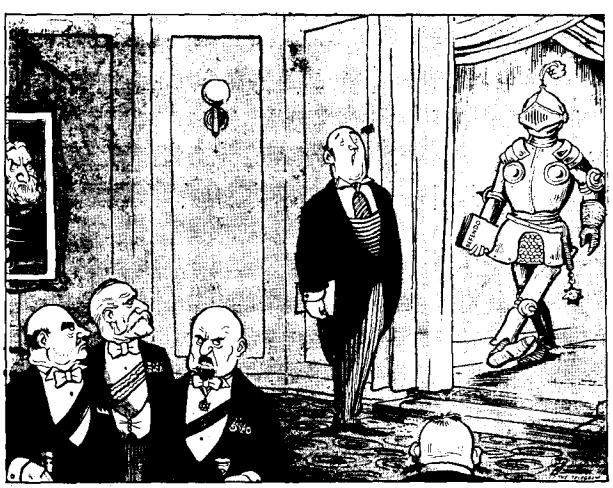
For The Record

Labor's hopes for fast repeal of Sect. 14 (b) of Taft-Hartley Act (the clause that permits state-enacted right-to-work laws) dimming. For several reasons: 1) public irritation over unnecessary $2 billion national dock strike in January and February; 2) probability that intra-union squabbling over presidency of United Steelworkers will lead to a steel strike; 3) tendency of some normally pro-labor Democratic congressmen not to go along. Some legislators, notably Sen. George Smathers (Fla.), Chairman of the powerful Senate Democratic Conference, and Rep. Hale Boggs (La.), the House Democratic Whip, are reluctant to support repeal on constitutional, states'-rights grounds. . . . As direct outgrowth of dock strike, Rep. David Martin (R., Neb.) has introduced H.R. 333—a law to ban industry-wide bargaining. . . . AFL-CIO leaders were startled a week ago when a poll by Chase Manhattan Bank of academic economists—most of them certifiable Liberals—showed that 52 per cent favor placing labor under anti-trust laws.

The well-informed Bulletin de Paris reports a major influx of Soviet arms—from Antonov-12 transport planes to automatic rifles and mortars—into the Sudan, where two anti-Tshombe rebel training camps have been established at Boghari and Cherchell, near Tlemcen. A major offensive against Tshombe is now planned for mid-May, according to this report. . . . Thirteen moderate African states—most of them French-speaking countries—have formed a new Common Organization of Africa whose immediate purpose is to achieve peace in the Congo through support of Tshombe's government. . . . U.S. diplomats having difficulties in effecting release of U.S. psychologist Ronald Ramsey, a Free Speech Movement activist at Berkeley and a pacifist, from an Algerian hospital jail. Ramsey was persuaded to work in Algeria by Michel Raptis, a former Ben Bella aide who has since fallen out of favor. When Raptis was disgraced, Ramsey was seized by the Algerian secret police as a CIA spy and badly beaten up. . . . World protests over the death sentences pronounced against three former Ghanaian cabinet ministers, after a sham trial, apparently have impressed Kwame Nkrumah. He now says he will submit his case against the trio to the International Jurists.

American diplomats surprised—and pleased—by foreign reaction to U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam. An analysis of editorial reaction around the world indicated the retaliatory raids were praised by and large throughout Latin America and in Southeast Asia—two areas with first-hand knowledge of the dangers of Communist guerrilla tactics. . . . Philippine Defense Minister Macario Peralta says he has received confirmation of reports that



Beaton, Toronto *Telegram* Ben Roth Agency

"The U. S. Ambassador . . ."

200,000 Red Chinese troops—some of them elements of the crack 13th Route Army—are massed on the North Vietnam frontier. . . . Other Southeast Asia troop movements: British sources report Sukarno now has at least 20,000 men along the Borneo frontier with Malaysia.

When four members of the Kenyan parliament were killed in automobile accidents within a space of days the government debated whether to bring a witch doctor in on the case.

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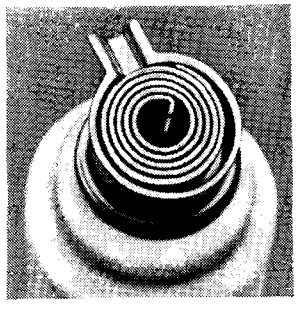

Exclusive heat coil picks up heat.

Push the button and out comes

New Schick hot lather

–barbershop style!

Made by the new-thinking folks at Schick who brought you America's number one stainless steel blade with the incredible Schick Stainless Krona Edge. Fits all double edge razors perfectly.

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Gourmet Shop floor in new Kentile® Vinyl Asbestos Travertine Tile. Colors: Ivory-Buff with Butterfly Bow design in Roman Red, plus Black Accent Strips. Beige KenCove® Vinyl Wall Base never needs painting, is easy to clean.

KENTILE
VINYL FLOORS

Now in economical Vinyl Asbestos Tile—luxurious Travertine. So easy on the pocketbook. So easy to maintain. That's new Kentile Vinyl Asbestos Travertine. Here's a floor that's greaseproof, perfect for heavy traffic, and comfortable underfoot. Helps conceal spiked-heel dents because it's textured. Kentile Dealer? See the Yellow Pages under "Floors" —or talk to your architect, builder, or interior designer.

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